RTReview.org

SCRIPTABLE

A Bispectral Review of Recent Books

Robert Tenor, editor
1-15-2022

New Series Number 93

EDITORIAL

Scriptable is an irregular review of what was once called the belles-lettres, where we essay upon a wide assortment of current books and articles with an eye open for "the beautiful jumble of discordant congruencies" derived from the authors and titles under discussion. We cast a wide academic net through the social sciences and humanities, with a strong orientation toward current events, social theory, religious and cultural studies.

With this number we move away from simple reportage of current scholarship to something more ambitious. The body of each issue includes editorial essays examining themes inspired by the works under consideration. The sum of our reviews are carefully pruned excerpts from the books themselves so as to preview the style and technicality of the text itself.
Our purpose is to inform and entertain. Through the review essays we hope to visit new and timeworn places through unsettled ideas in currency newly minted. Perhaps to see the outlandish as intimate and to show up the familiar as stranger than before thought.
Each issue should surprise.

Contents

Frida Kahlo: Her Universe, Text by Carlos Phillips, Jessica Serrano, Circe Henestrosa, Marta Turok, Octavio Murillo, Beatriz Scharrer, Luis Enríquez, Martha Romero, Paulina García, Pablo Ortiz Monasterio, Jaime Moreno, Tere Arcq, Luz Emilia Aguilar Zinser, Gerardo Estrada. [RM/Museo Frida Kahlo – Casa Azul. 9788417975531]

The iconic Mexican painter as seen through over 300 archival items, from her wardrobe to her personal art collection

This compendium presents the rich diversity of themes, ideas, concepts and emotions generated around two fundamental, iconic figures of modern Mexico: painter Frida Kahlo and her husband, muralist Diego Rivera. More than 300 images from the archives of the Museo Frida Kahlo in Mexico City offer readers a glimpse of Kahlo's distinctive wardrobe and the impressive collections of popular and pre-Hispanic art she assembled with Rivera, her connection with photography and the history of La casa azul, her beloved cobaltblue home that now serves as the museum's main building. This volume welcomes us into Frida Kahlo's universe, exploring the legacy of an indispensable figure in the world of 20thcentury art and culture in her native Mexico and across the globe.

Frida Kahlo (1907–54) began painting at the age of 18 when she was immobilized for several months as a result of a bus crash that left her permanently disabled. From then on, art served as an immense source of healing for Kahlo as well as a vehicle for self-expression and cultural exploration. At the heart of Kahlo's practice was her love for Mexican folk tradition, her staunch communist beliefs and her complex relationship with her body, gender and sexuality. A lifelong activist, Kahlo died of a pulmonary embolism after participating in a demonstration against the CIA's invasion of Guatemala.

Contents

excerpt: The Blue House has been one of Mexico's official museums since it opened in July 1958. For over 70 years, this highly significant space has been fulfilling its continuous endeavour of displaying and disseminating the artistic and cultural legacy of Frida Kahlo and Diego Rivera according to their founding will, which we aim to carry out as a museum day by day.

Rivera entrusted the space's museography to Carlos Pellicer, a museographer, professor and great poet from Tabasco and close friend of the couple. On completion of his task, Pellicer dedicated a letter to Frida, telling her—"that little creature"—what he had conceived for her home in his own poetic words.

Frida's artwork is displayed in rooms one and two. Unique in their style, these works reveal the artist's evolution and the process she used in her paintings. Frida sold most of her masterpieces during her lifetime, so we feel privileged to hold three of her exhaustively elaborated, complex works.

The first of these is an exuberant still life with a frame in the shape of a circle. The second is Frida's posthumous portrait of her father Guillermo Kahlo. The third work is an oil painting on masonite that might be described as a "vivid" life rather than "still" life. It shows watermelons sliced open anti in it. we see Frida's celebratory call to life: "liva la vida". She painted it just days before her death, knowing it would be her last message and only seen by visitors to her home and museum. "You made a true human sacrifice", wrote Pellicer; perhaps this fruit embodies Frida's open heart.

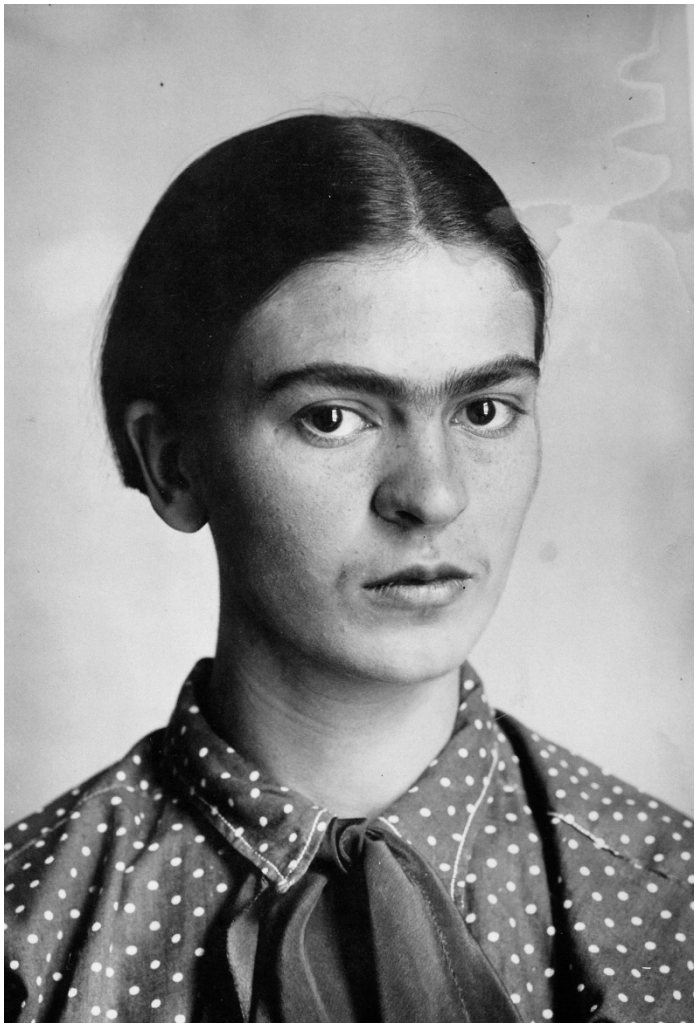
"I left the Tehuana dress you loved so much close by, with its gems and all", Pellicer tells Frida. Those of us at the museum confess that most of the artist's clothing was locked up in the Blue House's bathroom and some of its storage spaces, including wardrobes and trunks, for 48 years. These spaces were opened up in 2004, considerably enriching the museum collection as well as our understanding of the two artists and, with this, the history of art.

Since these treasures have been classified, complete outfits from Frida Kahlo's wardrobe can now be shared with our visitors. Among them are her hair accessories and the jewellery she used to adorn her iconic face, which is recognized everywhere. "I tucked some of your most beautiful pre-Hispanic necklaces away in a little drawer", wrote Pellicer. These ancestral items, which could be freely purchased in Frida's lifetime, are joined by an original variety from China, Europe and, naturally, Mexico. Frida also had earrings made with the filigree technique and others impeccably crafted in Mexican silver. She wore each of her ornaments with the same pride and flirtatiousness. The elegance of Frida's bearing was such that it conveyed the same value and importance in each of her adornments, regardless of their origin.

The artist also left a large, eloquent photographic collection, which was discovered on the unsealing of her legacy and tells of how she put her outfits together. The photographs give credible evidence to complement Frida's self-portraits and have also provided us with a great deal of information on her social, family and private life. As visual documents, they are complemented by written material dutifully filed away by Frida and perfectly conserved until today. Her archive leaves the impression that she not only wanted us to know her medical history, as told by her doctors, but also her past as a student, when her bad behaviour was offset by good marks. Many other facets of the artist were also expressed and secreted away in the recesses of her home.

Frida and Diego built up a library and left it for our perusal and delight. In it, there are approximately 2,700 works. Some of these have been crossed out, drawn on, underlined and annotated, but no work is more important than any other. Pride of place in the collection, though, must be given to Frida's diary, which Pellicer unashamedly classifies as a literary creation. "There (next to your Tehuana dress) I have left your book, your wonderful book". Amazingly, Pellicer realised that the founding of the museum carries the insinuation that Frida was not writing a private diary but rather a literary one. As her best friend, he understood that he should leave it open to view, and it should be known as Frida's book.

The beautiful hand-crafted kitchen utensils used by the artist and those around her are exhibited in the kitchen, which has also been left "just as it was". The dining room holds pieces of traditional art from the collection Frida and Diego had left as part of their heritage, having defended the high value of such works. Earthenware (piggy banks, pots, cups, pulque vessels, masks); papier mâché (Judas figures); wax (fruit and decorated candles), plant fibre, shellac, wood, metal, paper and glass are "almost the way you left them", says Pellicer. Folk art and crafts are highly important in the Blue House and connect the visitor to quotidian experiences and to Frida as she lived day to day in her home. To look at a clay pot or small papier mâché sculpture in the museum reminds us of the things we keep in our own homes and how we feel that time has not gone by so swiftly, nor has so much identity been lost, which is a particular solace.



FRIDA KAHLO, MEXICO, 1926 PHOTO: GUILLERMO KAHLO

Pre-Columbian art has the same strong presence in the Blue House that it did in Frida's own life. Frida may have initially developed her appreciation for the ancestral forms through the fascination Diego had for them since his childhood years, which was infectious to those around him and communicated to his beloved Frida, in particular. "I placed the best archaeological gifts from Diego to you in a lovely glass case," says Pellicer, bearing witness to the couple's shared pleasure in their possessions. We also know from photographic and written evidence that Frida was enthralled by the sculptures. She displayed them proudly and with great aesthetic care in her home and garden and on her clothing, and they also occupied a significant place in her finances: Frida lent her own financial support to the construction of Anahuacalli; and we might say that the Mesoamerican art at the Blue House introduces visitors to a later encounter with the rest of the "large family of sculptures" at Anahuacalli.

The Anahuacalli Museum is Rivera's temple of the arts and his great artistic legacy, built to display his pre-Hispanic collection. Its mosaic ceilings, magnificent design and other aspects were all conceived by Rivera himself. With visionary, organised foresight, the artist couple arranged for the two museums, Frida Kahlo and Anahuacalli, to be left for the delight and education of the Mexican people. Both were placed under the solid care of the Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo Museum Trust at the Bank of Mexico.

We hope these words will have transmitted the complex, profound transcendence of the Blue House collections.Although there are aspects that went too far beyond the scope of this text to mention, we hope to have sharpened future visitors' curiosity about the undying legacy of Frida and Diego. Two artists, two museums, and a single generous will to enrich the art of Mexico and that of the entire world. <>

GARLAND OF VISIONS: COLOR, TANTRA, AND A MATERIAL HISTORY OF INDIAN PAINTING by Jinah Kim [University of California Press, 978052034321 4]

GARLAND OF VISIONS explores the generative relationships between artistic intelligence and tantric vision practices in the construction and circulation of visual knowledge in medieval South

Asia. Shifting away from the traditional connoisseur approach, Jinah Kim instead focuses on the materiality of painting: its mediums, its visions, and especially its colors. She argues that the adoption of a special type of manuscript called pothi enabled the material translation of a private and internal experience of "seeing" into a portable device. These mobile and intimate objects then became important conveyors of many forms of knowledge—ritual, artistic, social, scientific, and religious—and spurred the spread of visual knowledge of Indic Buddhism to distant lands. By taking color as the material link between a vision and its artistic output, Garland of Visions presents a fresh approach to the history of Indian painting.

About the Author:

Jinah Kim is George P. Bickford Professor of Indian and South Asian Art at Harvard University. She is the author of Receptacle of the Sacred: Illustrated Manuscripts and the Buddhist Book Cult in South Asia.

Reviews

"I am in awe of this book. Jinah Kim controls a stunning range of information, both verbal and visual, that she uses as the basis for her brilliant insights. Elegantly written, entirely pioneering, and fully persuasive, this is a book of enormous importance."—Frederick M. Asher, Professor Emeritus, University of Minnesota

"This is a paradigm-changing work. By linking together a dizzying array of concerns in this exploration of visionary practice and color, Jinah Kim complicates long-held assumptions about religious imagery in India and produces remarkable insights. The book is sure to create new paths of scholarly inquiry in a wide range of fields."—Janice Leoshko, Associate Professor, University of Texas at Austin

CONTENTS

In the twelfth regnal year of Gopala (IV)—a Pãla king who ruled parts of India in what is now Bihar and West Bengal during the first half of the twelfth century—a lay woman named An.aghãkã commissioned a sumptuously painted palm-leaf manuscript of an important Mahãyãna scripture, the

Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Verses (Astasãhasrikã Prajñãpãramitã, henceforth Perfection of Wisdom). The commission was intended to benefit her "priest, teacher, parents, and all sentient beings in attaining supreme knowledge." Only six out of the 206 folios of the manuscript were subject to painting. In these six folios, the unnamed miniaturist executed every given space with dexterity and finesse. On each folio, surrounding the two pre-bored holes for binding, were placed decorative bands filled with swirling vegetal patterns emerging from a monster's mouth: the dark green tendrils are accentuated with light yellow highlighting and shaded with deep blue against a vibrant red backdrop with yellow borders (figure 0.1). Each band measures about 2 cm in width, and it would have required a brush that was about 2/100 mm in diameter to execute the fine lines.

FIGURE 1 DECORATIVE PATTERN ON THE BAND AROUND THE STRING HOLE. DETAIL OF FIGURE 2.

The vibrancy of color is absolutely stunning nearly nine hundred years after its production. On the last folio of the manuscript, three painted panels contain a red goddess flanked by blue and yellow bodhisattvas (figure 2). Kurukullã, the red goddess in the center panel, is adorned with intricate jewelry and an ornate crown. She is seated within a golden yellow shrine-like frame decorated with a swirly motif and a hamsa (swan) on either end, supported by two vyãlas (mythical lions). The large cushion behind her displays an intricate textile pattern in organic blue and red (most likely indigo and lac)—the same colors that would have dyed contemporary textiles. The lotus seat where she sits cross-legged, drawing a flower bow, is rendered with blue, red, and green petals with yellow outlines. This acme of color pops even more brilliantly against the light brown palm leaf whose veins and suppleness still retain their organic character. The Sanskrit text in black ink is written in an ornamental kutila (hooked) script, a calligraphic variety of the cosmopolitan siddhamatrka script. Its flamboyance supports the brilliance of the painting.

FIGURE 2 FOLIO 206R, PERFECTION OF WISDOM MANUSCRIPT, DATE: CA. 1143 CE (TWELFTH REGNAL YEAR OF GOPĀLA [IV]), PATRON: LAYWOMAN ANAGHĀKĀ, WEST BENGAL. ORGANIC AND MINERAL PIGMENTS AND SOOT INK ON PALM LEAF, SIZE: 6.7 × 48.6 CM. PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART, 1987-52-14. PHOTO COURTESY OF PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART.

Although this folio (along with a fragment of folio 101) was separated from the original manuscript, and now resides in a museum, it is worth remembering that it once belonged to location—from a store room to a pedestal, for instance—and at times change hands, sometimes over great distances. The geographic area explored in this study is extensive, connecting Silk Road sites like Khotan and Dunhuang with centers of manuscript production in the South Asian subcontinent. A southern limit to its scope is provided by the Narmada River, since most of the manuscripts I discuss hail from regions north of the traditional boundary between north and south India.4 Its temporal field is the period between 1000 and 1500 CE—within a "medieval" time frame in global reckoning. A final caveat: although this study proposes alternative ways to approach the history of Indian painting, it is not an exhaustive survey of medieval Indian manuscript painting. Instead, it focuses on the many guises that pothi-format manuscripts assumed while functioning as archives, envoys, teachers, and translators of various forms of knowledge across time and space.

To answer the question of why primary colors dominated the palette of Indian miniature painting, we must turn to what Ananda K. Coomaraswamy—the first curator of Indian art in North America and its preeminent savant—called the "blank" period, a time in India when there was "no one great religious inspiration." In the early decades of the twentieth century, when Coomaraswamy was active, the prevailing assessment of Indian tantric traditions was that they were degenerate and corrupt forms of religion; hence, the view that the religious landscape of medieval South Asia provided no great inspiration for artistic activity. As we will see, however, tantric communities made substantial contributions to the art of painting in at least two areas: color theory and material culture. By devising procedures for seeing transcendent objects in a specific set of colors, tantric visionary practice provided a color scheme, based on primary colors, that could be harnessed for artistic purposes, namely, the translation of visionary experience into paintings that would circulate beyond the immediate locus of their productions. In certain tantric communities, there also were seekers (siddhas) pursuing transmutation through alchemical tantras who experimented with the ritual use of cinnabar (mercuric sulfide), the mineral source of vermilion. Since the main ores for mineral cinnabar were outside the South Asian subcontinent, vermilion was an exceedingly precious commodity when it was introduced to artisanal practice in medieval South Asia.

The skills required to produce a miniature were intimately tied to the art of the book. Manuscripts in South Asia were traditionally prepared with birch bark and palm leaves cut to uniform size and strung together through one or two prebored holes. Wooden book covers were provided to protect the folios. A pothi-format manuscript was normally oblong, a shape determined by the source material, usually palm leaves measuring 5–6 cm in width (in the case of the so-called talipot palm, Corypha umbraculifera, the most common type of palm used in the material examined for this study). With this material, the maximum available space on a given page does not exceed 6 × 55 cm.

Given the limited space available to painters, each painted panel on a folio typically measured around 5 × 5.5 cm.

A miniature painting on a page in a Buddhist manuscript, such as the goddess Kurukullã in figure 0.2, rarely finds mention in most narratives of the history of Indian painting, especially after the arrival of the Mughals. The nominally Buddhist subject matter might prompt us to look for more ready comparisons in Buddhist communities nearby. In fact, most early examples of manuscript painting from South Asia come from Buddhist circles, with some exceptional examples hailing from Nepal. We remember that Anaghãkã's manuscript was taken to Bhaktapur in the Kathmandu valley, where it remained in ritual use, and the iconography of a four-armed red goddess holding a red lotus and drawing a flower bow finds a close parallel in a painting in another manuscript prepared in Nepal (dated 1071), now in the Asiatic Society, Kolkata (A15, folio 152v). The goddess Kurukullã also appears in a number of later Tibetan thangkas, suggesting that a Himalayan connection in the development of manuscript painting in South Asia might reward exploration. A sectarian transregional model, however, provides little room to consider the legacy and the contributions of Buddhist manuscript painters in the later history of Indian painting. Here, let us consider an alternative transregional model.

Transregional and Transtemporal Connections

As portable objects traveling across different regions, South Asian manuscripts have survived many centuries of use, opening windows to distant connections across time and space. The painting in figure 0.3 was prepared on a vertically oriented sheet of paper. The top register occupying about one-eighth of the page contains a vernacular text (most likely a form of Braj) written in black ink. In comparison to the Sanskrit script in figure 0.2, the scribing seems less controlled, even casual, coinciding with the conversational tone of the text. The text is a cajoling message from Krsna that the sakhi (the go-between and confidante) delivers to Rãdhã, telling her how Krsna is love stricken and longing to see her and urging her "come, go and meet Krsna struck by Kãma's arrow!" Below this text the scene unfolds in three compartments: the top section shows Rãdhã in her apartment being swarmed by bees and addressed by the sakhi, whose standing position and lowered left hand connect Rãdhã's space to the dense forest where Krsna dejectedly longs for his lover; opposite Krsna's forest is an inverted U-shaped bower, in which a female figure seated on a fully opened lotus draws a flower bow with a lotus stem as an arrow. This figure is commonly taken to be Kãma, or his female consort, Ratï. The accompanying text tells us that Krsna is struck by Kãma's arrow. The comparison to Kurukullã's bow and arrow is inevitable.

As the goddess of desire, Kurukullã was regarded in tantric Buddhist communities as a personal deity of some importance.9 It is unlikely that Krsna's painter, identified as Sãhib Dïn (Sahib al-Din), a Muslim painter who served the Hindu Mewar court in seventeenthcentury Rajasthan, would have been aware of any recondite Buddhist iconography. Yet images of Kurukullã continued to be made in central Tibet and remained popular from the sixteenth century on. Indrani Chatterjee suggests that through "monastic geographicity" the Himalayan and trans-Himalayan regions remained connected to the rest of the South Asian subcontinent from the thirteenth through nineteenth centuries. Tibetan tantric and Mahãyãna Buddhist lineages "occupied the same terrain" as "the Sufi, Vaishnava, and Šaiva lineages of the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries," yet are forgotten in colonial and postcolonial scholarship.11 The earliest surviving miniature painting of Kurukullã places her on the Kurukullã peak in present-day Gujarat, and the iconography of the goddess may in fact have had a non-Buddhist origin. A potential connection between this small detail in a seventeenth-century Rajput painting and earlier Buddhist exemplars may seem inconsequential, but it is worth keeping in mind when we consider the genesis of the Indic manuscript-painting tradition.

The vertical format of the painting is unlike the horizontal pothi-format of the manuscript, but the choice of yellow as a backdrop for the band of text at the top of the page invites us to remember the color of a seasoned palm-leaf folio, poeticized as golden. The yellow backdrop is commonly seen in other Rajput court paintings with accompanying texts, and it is close to the color of contemporary Nepalese paper manuscripts. As seen in figure 0.4, the yellow paper folios with text written in black ink in a vernacular, informal hand of a painted manuscript of the Karandavyuha, dated 1631, resemble the text band in Sahib Din's painting. The materials are different: the Nepalese paper was probably prepared with pulp from the bark of certain bushes or shrubs (for example, Daphne papyracea),' and its color was produced by an application of arsenic (orpiment) to the surface of the page in the final stage of preparation before scribing. In the Rajput folios, in contrast, the color is the result of a pigment called Indian yellow, said to have been produced from the urine of cows that were only fed mango leaves The Indian yellow pigment does not seem to have insect repelling properties, unlike the orpiment used on the Nepalese paper. In any case, formal affinities such as carefully produced color and the proportions of text pages do not necessitate direct contact between artistic traditions, and more historical research is needed before a hypothetical interaction between the seventeenth-century courts of the Rajput rulers and the Malla rulers of the Kathmandu valley can be confirmed.

Recent studies of transregional movements agree that the colonial-era model of Himalayan insularity, which held that Nepal and other kingdoms across the Himalayan foothills were sealed off from the rest of the world, has long been overdue for serious revision. Transregional connections between the Indian plain and a number of Himalayan sites, together with those across the Himalayas, are presently being reconstrued in various fields, including architecture. As mobile objects, manuscripts may sometimes constitute the only traces of long-ago travels across a network of connectivity now lost to us. Can they be fruitfully engaged to expand our understanding of the premodern era? In one instance, we can see that a sixteenth-century Bengali scribe was employed, in the area of present-day Delhi, in writing out a fully illustrated paper manuscript of the Aranyaka Parvan. According to the colophon on folio 362r, the scribe (kaydstha) named Bhavanidasa, son of Lakhanasi of the Ganda lineage, wrote the manuscript in 1516 (samvat 1573) in Yoginipura (today's Delhi) during the reign of the Sultan Sikandar. Where in Gauda his family may have hailed from is difficult to ascertain, but the manuscript bears witness to a scribal family's migration from eastern India to Delhi in the fifteenth century.

Overview of the Chapters

In three parts, this book is concerned with the manuscript as an artistic medium, vision, and color. Part I examines the development of the pothi-format manuscript as a painterly medium that uniquely encompasses textuality, visuality, and materiality. Chapter 1 challenges the common scholarly assumption that treats paintings in all mediums as if they belonged to a single artistic tradition—even despite evidence to the contrary. The adoption of the manuscript as a medium for painting is a relatively late phenomenon; and this chapter ex plains the circumstances that may have inspired such a move and discusses the subsequent impact of this development. It also highlights the importance of a trans-Himalayan manuscript culture where the practice of making painted manuscripts flourished.

Chapter 2 proposes that religious architecture was an inspiration and a potential model for the development of the art of the book. The regulated placement of painted panels containing images of deities within the three-dimensional space of a manuscript turned them into miniature temples that were not only portable but also potent cultic objects. The chapter concludes with a transsectarian comparison of images and textual sources documenting how the pothi-format manuscript became a fitting vehicle for the transmission of knowledge and authority in medieval South Asia.

Part 2 delves into the world of tantric vision, its associated practices, and the role of painted manuscripts in the dissemination of esoteric visual knowledge. Chapter 3 examines the process by which painted palm-leaf manuscripts became vessels for circulating images of visionary practice. Painted manuscripts, in particular, were embraced as an important medium for the transmission of esoteric visual knowledge. Passages relating to the art of the book in the Vajravali (lit. "garland of vajras") by Abhayakaragupta conclude the chapter by situating painted manuscripts within the world of Esoteric Buddhist rituals.

Chapter 4 identifies the ma/a, or garland, as a distinctly Indic model for the design of painted manuscripts. As a case study, it focuses on a late twelfth-century manuscript of the Perfection of Wisdom, now in the Varendra Research Museum (VRM), Rajshahi, Bangladesh, which demonstrates how the inherent seriality and spatial ordering of images accommodated by the pothi format can help record, compile, and circulate tantric visual knowledge tied to initiation linages. It explores the iconographic structure of the VRM manuscript and explains in detail some of the unusual Esoteric Buddhist iconography in it.

Part 3 turns to one of the central questions of the study and explores why primary colors dominate the palette of Indian painting by examining how primary colors became prominent features of the art of painting in India during the second millennium. I seek answers to this question in patterns of historical change: the adoption of color as an encoding tool for systematization of esoteric visual knowledge by medieval tantric groups, especially in Buddhist circles, and increased interest in the potency of certain materials generated by tantric practitioners. This is especially evident among those seeking transmutations of matter, such as siddhas seeking mercury, which is deeply tied to vermilion, the pigment responsible for the brightest, most powerful color in many paintings. Chapter 5 examines the history of the five-color system developed in Indian Esoteric Buddhism as a tool for encoding visual knowledge. This investigation uncovers changing attitudes toward color and provides clues to why primary colors in high opacity became important in painting in medieval South Asia, a development that presaged the spread of painted manuscripts. This chapter also discusses color theory as articulated in medieval Indic religious traditions to explore the symbolic meaning and function of color in medieval South Asia.

Chapter 6 discusses the material evidence of color use in manuscript painting in addition to close readings of texts, including artistic treatises and ritual manuals like the Natyasastra, the Citrasütra, and the Vajravalti that can help explain the Indic theory of color. Through laboratory research conducted in Boston and Cambridge, Massachusetts, we have new information on the material composition of pigments used in Indic manuscript paintings, especially in the period before 1500. Identifying these pigments in conjunction with a close study of contemporary treatises explaining Indic theories of color affords us a glimpse into the artists' intimate, embodied knowledge of each color's material properties.

The book ends with an epilogue that discusses the methodological and historiographic implication of the book's analytical focus on color. The question of why primary colors dominate Indian miniature painting is thus addressed by examining the centrality of color in tantric visionary practice that was intimately tied to the development of the art of manuscript painting in India. Through an art-historical reading of material analysis of colorants, we get a glimpse of the artistic intelligence that shaped the color experience in painting. <>

Louis Kahn: The Importance of a Drawing edited by Michael Merrill, [Lars Müller Publishers, 9783037786444] 24 × 30 cm, 9 ½ × 11 ¾ in, 512 pages, 919 illustrations

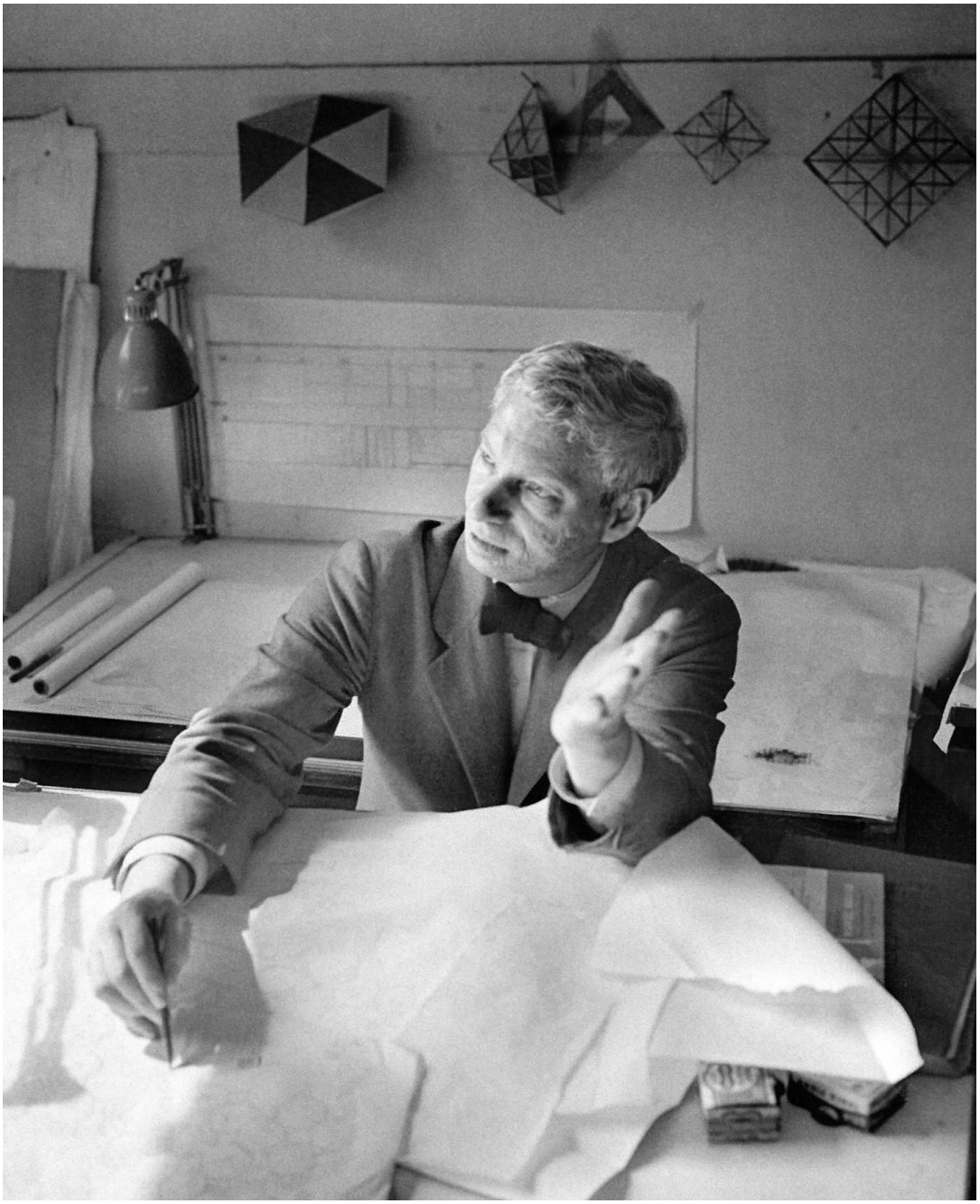
With contributions by Michael Benedikt, Michael Cadwell, David Leatherbarrow, Louis Kahn, Nathaniel Kahn, Sue Ann Kahn, Michael J. Lewis, Robert McCarter, Michael Merrill, Marshall Meyers, Jane Murphy, Gina Pollara, Harriet Pattison, Colin Rowe, David Van Zanten, Richard Wesley, William Whitaker

"The importance of a drawing is immense, because it's the architect's language." — Louis Kahn to his masterclass, 1967

Louis I. Kahn (1901–1974) was one of the most significant architects of the twentieth century and his influence is present today in ways both profound and subtle. Unlike previous publications on Kahn, which have focused on his built work and which considered the drawings foremost as illustrations of these, this is the first in-depth study of drawings as primary sources of insight into Kahn's architecture and creative imagination.

By offering a spectrum of close readings of drawings by Kahn and his associates in a series of incisive and richly illustrated essays, this book is at once an intimate artistic portrait of this important architect and a provocative and timely contribution to the current discourse on representation in architecture. For architects and students of architecture, Kahn's lasting significance is not only in the buildings he built, but in how he designed them.

Based on unprecedented archival research, engagingly presented by a group of eminent scholars and architects, and lavishly illustrated with over 900 highest quality reproductions, The Importance of a Drawing is destined to become a standard work in the literature on Louis Kahn.



Louis Kahn in his office, around 1956, Marilyn Silverstone, photographer, Magnum /Agentur Focus

Louis Kahn and the Importance of (a) Drawing by Michael Merrill

Louis Kahn sits in the drafting room of his office on the corner of 20th Street and Walnut in Philadelphia, lost in thought amid the detritus of work. Spread out on the table in front of him are sketches of a house for Norman and Doris Fisher, together with the essential tools of his craft: roll of tracing paper, triangular architect's scale, drafting tape. He holds a charcoal stick gently in his hand. Kahn must know that the photographer George Pohl is afoot, but he appears so oblivious to him that Pohl's photos [not shown here] let us, too, if only for a moment, become eyewitnesses in the room.' Kahn's posture, with his head bowed and his weight distributed between the edges of the

drafting stool and the table, is a picture of focus. (As is that of his associate Marie Kuo.) Scattered cardboard scraps, used paper coffee cups, skewed drafting lamps, and a desk buried in blueprints tell of the office's create-now-and-clean-later work ethic. Any one of us who has studied architecture knows a space like this one.

And so, we might be tempted by these photographs to project ourselves into the tiny segment of the design process they have captured, which, we might imagine, goes something like this: Kahn thinks about the house he wants to build. Then he pauses for second thoughts. Then he draws the image that he has just conceived in his mind. So far, so good. But wait: although this may at first seem the obvious sequence of events, experience and reflection will soon remind us that it is equally probable that Pohl took his photos in precisely the opposite order. That is, Kahn draws lines on his paper; After which he pauses to consider if more are needed; then he reflects upon what his hand has drawn.

We can study the photos again, and this time more closely, but will find nothing in them that reveals in which of these two sequences they were actually taken. Further reflection, though, will remind us that what is taking place at the drafting table follows a path that is more elliptical or branch-shaped than it is linear. Kahn is at work on something that he can see only dimly in its final form. Although he has an idea, he is repeatedly confronted with its insufficiency, because what he draws on his paper is repeatedly at odds with that idea. And so, he is repeatedly compelled to either change his drawing or to change his idea. In other words, Kahn's drawings continually reshape his idea, while Kahn's idea continually reshapes his drawings. In this, the uncertainty of the photos' sequence reminds us of something so fundamental that it is often left unexamined: in the making of architecture, idea and drawing are ultimately inseparable, and by the time a design is completed it is often impossible to say which—if either—of the two has been primary.

This is a book about Louis Kahn, about drawing, and about architecture—and about their interrelationships. Two simple premises sparked the research that led to the work before you. The first of these is that Kahn's drawings afford us privileged insights into his built and theoretical work, revealing much that would remain hidden without them. The second is that those same drawings make powerful tools for reflection on our own evolving means of thinking and representing architecture. That both premises are worthy of pursuit seems, at this late date, to be beyond question. Kahn's central importance for modern architecture has long been established, and by now we also know that his architecture, to a degree shared by few others, was inseparably intertwined with a rich culture of drawing and representation. And yet, while there are numerous monographs and studies of Kahn's built work and projects, there have been only few explicit and extended attempts to explore the relationships between his drawing and his architecture. This book attempts to partially remedy that lack while projecting its findings both as answers and questions into our own present. Because for students of architecture ("students" in the largest sense), the long-term significance of Kahn resides not only in the buildings he built but, equally, in how he designed them.

On the Research Leading to this Book

The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation) together with my employers at the universities in Darmstadt and Karlsruhe, enabled me to dedicate over five years to this project, with over eight months of that time spent in Philadelphia, immersed in the drawings of Kahn and his associates in the Architectural Archives of the University of Pennsylvania. There, I was given the unprecedented chance to study several thousand drawings by Kahn and his associates representing projects spanning the length of Kahn's career. I had the great fortune to be guided in my research by Curator and Collections Manager William Whitaker, and to be joined in the archives

by a remarkable party of scholars, architects, family, and former associates of Kahn, a dedicated group of whom have contributed original research and essays to this book.

The Louis I. Kahn Collection

When Louis Kahn died unexpectedly in 1974, it became apparent that his office owed almost half a million dollars in outstanding fees and bills. Recognizing the importance of keeping Kahn's archive whole, a group of dedicated supporters initiated a movement to settle Kahn's estate by selling his office holdings to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. After a petition was signed by thousands of Pennsylvanians, a bill was initiated, and a fight for funds in the State House of Representatives was won, the sale was finalized in 1977. In the following year the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission placed the collection on permanent loan to Kahn's alma mater and long-time employer, the University of Pennsylvania. The Louis I. Kahn Collection was opened to the public in 1979 and is one of the greatest of many treasures in the Architectural Archives of the University of Pennsylvania, a unique institution that preserves and makes available the work of over 400 designers from the seventeenth century to the present. The Kahn Collection is awe-inspiring, with approximately 6,500 sketches by Kahn, nearly 30,000 office drawings, and 100 models representing around 230 projects. The collection includes several of Kahn's notebooks and private drawings, more than 15,000 photographs, 150 boxes of office files and correspondence, as well as an inventory of Kahn's personal library, awards, and other artifacts.

On the Shape of this Book

Louis Kahn used drawings to see, to see more, to find out, to play, to daydream, to share, to conjecture, to collaborate, to assert, to explain, to seduce, and to delight. Considering the depth of Kahn's built work and the multitudes of—and in—his drawings, no single book on his buildings, nor on his drawings, nor on the relationship between them can claim to be comprehensive. That said, this project has been driven by what Robert Venturi once called "an obligation to the difficult whole." My goal as editor has been to compose something more than a random sampling of essays; rather, I have hoped for the book's parts to add up to a connect-the-dots portrait of Kahn, his creative intelligence, and his work through his drawings. In doing so, I have attempted to present the drawings so that that they might encourage speculation, new ways of seeing, and new work. My coauthors were accordingly wooed, and the themes and drawings selected in an attempt to intimate something of both the depth and the breadth of Kahn's drawing culture; to demonstrate a spectrum of media and techniques used, to trace some of the traditions in which Kahn's drawing practice stands, to shed light on the ways in which drawing was learned and used, and to reflect on the contexts of the drawings' use. Working in this way means that gaps and omissions are necessary in order to cover ground, just as overlaps and repetition are necessary in order to allow for multiple viewpoints. The reciprocal relationship between drawing and design means that the drawings have sometimes served to discuss technique and method, and other times as inroads to better understanding the results of the design process. I, for my own part, have been just as interested in what drawing did with Kahn as with what Kahn did with drawings.

The resulting book, echoing the process of its making, resembles a logbook of an expedition across a large continent. While it was deemed necessary to linger and survey certain major features of the landscape (orthographic drawings and the embodied imagination, the theme of composition, the influences of Kahn's Beaux-Arts education, for example), serendipitous detours along the way revealed unexpected yet telling insights (such as a set of tiny survey sketches of the Salk Institute's site, full-scale drawings for a drinking fountain at the Kimbell Art Museum, a drawn/written letter from Colin Rowe). Limits of time and space meant that a number of fertile landscapes had to be passed swiftly and sketched from a distance, in the hope of animating others to return to them (perspective drawings, diagrams, the vitally important question of scale, etcetera). Since our

exploration was dedicated to Kahn's drawings, his use of other representational means—including models, photography, texts, and print media—can only be referenced here.

The book has been divided into eight sections to structure our findings. Beginning with Kahn's first steps in drawing, we progress: First, over Kahn's use of drawings as an active tool for seeing and discovery. Two sections are then dedicated to the uses of the various drawing types as tools for inquiry in design. Drawings are then used to reveal aspects of Kahn's culture of collaboration. Next, the perennial theme of "composition" is explored through drawings. A section then focuses on a number of special themes in drawing. Redrawing is then shown as a means of understanding Kahn's intentions. Finally, our expedition concludes with thoughts on the relevance of what we have seen for future teaching and practice. Although the essays are arranged to form a narrative or an "epistemological arc," they may be read in any order. They are both analytic and synthetic, alternating between attempts to break Kahn's work into its parts and to gain sight of it as a whole. The essays are self-explanatory, so rather than attempting to summarize them here I would hasten you onward to explore them.

Some Thoughts on How to Use This Book

Although this book includes works from all phases of Kahn's career, it is neither a "complete works" nor a monographic survey. To maximize the area dedicated to Kahn's iterative and exploratory drawings means to minimize those photographs and print-ready images that are the conventional means of presenting architecture. The texts, too, by focusing on drawing and representation, omit much contextual information that belongs in more general project descriptions. And yet, architectural drawings such as those reproduced here work best in the space between what we see and what we know. Those readers who know Kahn's work well will hopefully recognize in this lack of photos and conventional descriptions an invitation: to dwell in that space between seeing and knowing, and so to participate more intimately with Kahn and his associates in their acts of creation. Those who are less familiar with Kahn's work will profit greatly from photos and general descriptions of the buildings. I encourage you to have one or more of the monographs listed in the bibliography at hand.

By ordering the material thematically rather than by project, drawings made in close concert have been separated here for study. So, for example, the floor plans of the Exeter Library are to be found under the theme of "composition," while the library's vertical sections, elevations, and perspectives are studied in essays devoted to each of the respective drawing types. Other projects are distributed in a similar manner. While there is something admittedly violent—and intellectually risky—in doing this, there are good reasons for taking this path. On the one hand, we wish to highlight the particular propensities and virtues (and pitfalls) of the various drawing media and types, and to reflect on some of the ways that Kahn's imagination animated—and was animated by—the innate intelligence of each.' We follow an unhidden agenda here. Although no type of architectural drawing is superior per se (only superior toward certain ends), there currently exists a dogma—at least in large parts of the profession—that holds simulation and three-dimensional modeling to be the measure of all things, usurping the multifarious tools of architectural representation.' Kahn's masterful use of the various drawing types will hopefully give cause to reconsider their respective virtues, while his broad and expansive repertoire of tools will hopefully give cause for emulation. On the other hand, we hope that the book's presentation of its subject matter, by counting on you, dear reader, to actively reassemble the drawings in your imagination, allows you to at least partially reenact our own explorations in Kahn's archives. While my coauthors and I have made all efforts to present our research in a verifiable manner as a basis for further academic study, it has been our

primary intention to make this a creative study book in the spirit of Louis Kahn, that most nonacademic and active reader of history. <>

STRIPPED: READING THE EROTIC BODY by Maggie M. Werner. [RSA series in transdisciplinary rhetoric, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 9780271087764]

The book explores the bodies, acts, and discourses that constitute embodied erotic rhetoric by foregrounding the material communication practices of performing bodies and proposing complementary frameworks and theories for analyzing them.

STRIPPED examines the ways in which erotic bodies communicate in performance and as cultural figures. Focusing on symbols independent of language, Maggie M. Werner explores the signs and signals of erotic dance, audience responses to these codes, and how this exchange creates embodied rhetoric.

Informed by her own ethnographic research conducted in strip clubs and theaters, Werner analyzes the movement, dress, and cosmetic choices of topless dancers and neo-burlesque performers. Drawing on critical methods of analysis, she develops approaches for interpreting embodied erotic rhetoric and the marginal cultural practices that construct women's public erotic bodies. She follows these bodies out into the streets—into the protest spaces where sex workers and anti-rape activists challenge discourses about morality and victimhood and struggle to remake their own identities. Throughout, Werner showcases the voices of these performers and in the analyses shares her experiences as an audience member, interviewer, and paying customer. The result is a uniquely personal and erudite study that advances conversations about women's agency and erotic performance, moving beyond the binary that views the erotic body as either oppressed or empowered.

Theoretically sophisticated and delightfully intimate, **STRIPPED** is an important contribution to the study of the rhetoric of the body and to rhetorical and performance studies more broadly.

Review

"STRIPPED *is an admirable, frank, and at times deliberately fraught read of eroticized performance with the body. Maggie M. Werner's analysis is accompanied by frequent personal, auto-ethnographic interludes. This multimethodological approach to writing is refreshing to read." —Joshua Gunn, author of Modern Occult Rhetoric: Mass Media and the Drama of Secrecy in the Twentieth Century*

"Maggie M. Werner's **STRIPPED** *manages to cover an embodied curriculum that is extremely relevant on and off North American campuses, where issues of bodily consent, control, agency, and expression should be central but have instead often been marginalized. The book is extremely well written, driven by personal vignettes and told through a series of public controversies. Werner successfully argues that embodied rhetoric is not just rhetoric about the body; it is also rhetoric from the body. Explicitly embodied rhetoric cannot exclude sexual behaviour." —Jay Dolmage, author of Disabled Upon Arrival: Eugenics, Immigration, and the Construction of Race and Disability*

CONTENTS

Embodied Erotic Rhetoric's Acceptance and Rejection

I pull up to Isabella's house. When I walk in the living room, she's sitting with three friends, all strippers, all women I know from the club. We all exchange Hey's and nod. They're passing both a joint and the final paper from my rhetorical analysis class called "Dirty Girls and Stinky Guys: A Fantasy-Theme Analysis." It was, at the time, my magnum opus. A harbinger of my assured success as a rhetorical critic. I was so proud of it. The paper features Isabella heavily, as did all of the papers from that class. She was funny, clever, and I was sprung beyond belief on her. I very nearly worshipped her and constantly sought her approval. When I gave her the paper to read, I was all puffed up, assuming she would be impressed by my brilliance. I may not be the type of bar fighting butch dyke she liked, but look . . . brains! I figured that had to count for something.
I stood for a moment taking in the scene. Puff puff pass. Pass the joint, pass a page. Isabella spoke:
"We're reading your little story."
<inhale>
"It's hilarious."
Acceptance. Rejection.

Criticizing the Erotic Body

Historically, rhetoricians and communications scholars have largely been disciplined in analysis of linguistic communication, thus criticism of the body has tended toward textual analysis of discourses about, rather than the material symbolic communication of the body. Recent inter- and transdisciplinary scholarship has brought rhetoric and communication together with performance studies—in which the breathing, sweating, moving body has always been central—to expand theories and analysis of meaning and communication. The resulting collaborations yield an understanding that rhetoric of the body is always a multicoded rhetoric. Although critics can attend to any one symbolic aspect to theorize the body, understanding that it is always impacted by others is necessary to move criticism beyond text-only paradigms that flatten embodied practices. Thus critical methodologies that are attendant to these multiple realms and their interplay are imperative to unpacking complexities of the body's symbolic communication.

In this book, I've provided a series of analytical frameworks that can productively examine the interplay of linguistic and material symbols, and I have applied each to a different site of women's public erotic performance, sites of embodied rhetoric. I've followed one such erotic body—the stripping woman—through club and theater performances, into the streets, and as a cultural symbol, weaving through both discursive and material symbolic forms of embodied rhetoric. The first of these frameworks—delivery--offers an ancient link between rhetoric and performance showing the long-standing connections between the two. Delivery in itself offers an expansive way of criticizing

embodied rhetorics because it is composed of various common topics" or topoi—body, genre, space, and audience—that are each applicable to communication in varied symbolic realms. Delivery can provide an overall way of conceiving embodied rhetoric that other theories can enrich. The topos of the body includes material symbolic codes related to movement and adornment and also discursive codes including identity and persona. In various chapters, I have tracked the body topos through these realms, including movement and adornment in chapters 1, 2, and 3 and discussions of discourses that make and remake identities in chapters 4 and 5. I take up the genre topos explicitly in chapter 2, but as genre itself is composed of various parts—situation, substance, style—encouraging distinct affective responses in participants and yielding various social actions, genre is always shaping and shaped by communicating bodies. I've also taken up the space topos in both literal and metaphorical ways throughout. In the first part of the book, I analyze spatial differences between clubs and theaters (chapters 1 and a), and in chapter 4 I illustrate that situating the stripping body in different spaces—protest spaces versus performance spaces—is part of how identities get dis- and rearticulated. In chapter 5, space is metaphorically invoked as a way to understand how movements, like SlutWalk, that embrace the material symbolic codes associated with sex work, are perceived as either opening or closing spaces for women of color. Finally, the topos of audience is at the heart of all of the critical work in this book. Relationships with audiences create both genres (chapter a) and rhetorical forms (chapter 3). Audiences also have the power to shape rhetors' identities in ways that are fundamentally at odds with the rhetors' own (chapters 4 and 5).

Genre criticism, while primarily concerned with written texts in rhetoric and communication studies, has lately been embodied, largely through the theories of Joshua Gunn, who, drawing on film theory, connects genre to affect. Because rhetorical genres of the body often get collapsed into one another under vast labels—sports, acting, dance, stripping—genre offers critics a way to discern the particular and specific affective dimensions of individual types of body rhetoric. For example, as chapter 2 argues, topless dancing in clubs and neo-burlesque share many symbolic methods of communication but fundamentally differ in the ways that the audience body—both as individuals and as a collective—participate in the performances.

In addition to the application of corporeal-friendly concepts for body criticism like delivery and genre, embodied rhetoric also benefits from applying typically discursive theories because discourse shapes the ways that audiences and rhetors understand performance. One such theory, seduction, is particularly useful to embodied erotic rhetoric, especially when seduction operates both as it is popularly understood as arousing desire and as it is theoretically proposed as encompassing those rhetorical forms that operate outside of rationality and purpose-driven discourse.

Identity, understood in this book as various ideological elements joined into a named unity, is a fundamental part of embodied rhetorics. Articulation theory, because it is designed to look at the joining of parts into wholes, is a valuable approach to analyze what parts are made into which identities and what rhetorical work needs to be done to rejoin new parts into different identities. Because social movements engage in identity reconstitution in order to challenge oppressive ideologies, articulation is a productive conceptual tool for social-movement analysis. Further, articulation is an ideal theory for looking at both discursive and material symbols that are used to build and to communicate identities. Chapter 4 looked at sex worker—a symbolic remaking of identity intended to disarticulate ideologies of victimhood, criminality, and immorality from work in the sex trades; it also looked at the discourses that the sex-worker identity challenges, and the ways that material rhetoric of the body in protest is part of rearticulating this contested identity.

Alterity, like seduction, has a dense theoretical legacy and offers a way to understand not only the mechanisms but also the consequences of rhetorical operations. While alterity has been theorized as

"extra-rhetorical;' or "prior rhetorical," via the work of Diane Davis drawing on Emmanuel Levinas, in chapter 5 I propose that alterity can also provide a way to enrich criticism of identities, by showing how discursive and material symbols as they construct particular identities also exclude others. This fundamental pairing of "this is who we are" (identity) with "this is who we are not" (alterity) is a driver of contemporary social-movement rhetoric in which battles over identity form the core of rhetorical strategies.

This particular selection of concepts shows a range of critical approaches for analyzing rhetorics of the body. This combination of approaches makes clear that taking up one approach doesn't foreclose on another. As the preceding chapters explicate, linguistic and material symbols work together to create embodied rhetoric; thus critical methods must be capable of attending to both. The theories and methods highlighted in this book were also selected for their transdisciplinary utility due to their expansiveness. Although each chapter is intended to stand on its own as a coherent analysis, they are also intended to work together to show the robustness of what rhetoric of the body can entail. In addition to making an argument about body criticism, I make a more specific claim about the affordances of these theories and methods for analyzing embodied erotic rhetoric, in particular, public performances—here presented as entertainment and political actions—by women.

Another goal of this book is to advance conversations about women's erotic performances, which tend to get caught in circular arguments about either empowerment or oppression; such performances are, of course, neither/nor/ both/and. By positioning these jobs and art forms within the realm of performance rhetoric, conversations about their cultural and social impacts can be moved beyond binary positions that close off further discussion. In the case of erotic performers and laborers, ignoring participants' own understandings of the workings of their acts is never in their best interest. Erotic performance as a type of performance rhetoric enables multiple new positions and perspectives that place the body and its contested contexts central. Taken together then, the analyses in this book yield the following insights about embodied erotic rhetoric:

1. Analysis of the body presents openings, not finalities.
2. Methods of criticism for embodied rhetoric should be able to accommodate the differences between the material and the discursive symbolic because rhetoric of the body is a production of both.
3. The body's material symbolic communication, such as the movement, costume, and adornment discussed in this book, cannot be separated from cultural contexts and the different somatic experiences of embodied identities, in particular, racial and gender identities.
4. Delivery provides a heuristic for understanding the multiple common topics of body rhetoric: body (identity), space, genre, audience, which are interdependent and tack between the material and the discursive.
5. As a particularly contested type of communication, the embodied erotic rhetoric of women vividly illustrates the ways that bodies are shaped by cultural discourses, the ways that bodies act as cultural symbols, and the ways that they communicate purposefully.

Beyond Burkean Burlesque

This book fundamentally aspires to advance understanding of methods, analyses, and ways of reading embodied erotic rhetoric, but it also aims to make a contribution to scholarly conversations concerning burlesque rhetoric, arising from Kenneth Burke's work on the burlesque—as a literary parody, not as erotic performance. Because erotic burlesque's origins derive from the same poetic category, however, and because erotic burlesque still relies heavily on mockery and parody, it has

long been my goal to end this journey where I began: postulating what—if any—connections can be made between what scholars have theorized as burlesque rhetoric based on the literary form and erotic performance rhetoric. In Attitudes Toward History, Burke presents various poetic categories as a way of understanding human symbolic structures.' Burke classifies these categories as either frames of acceptance or frames of rejection, which reflect the symbolic action the text is undertaking, one that is either welcoming or combative.' Rhetoricians have been particularly interested in the differences of the modes of humor Burke categorizes, with comedy as a frame of acceptance and the burlesque as a frame of rejection: `comedy emphasizes acceptance by stressing positive aspects, whereas burlesque emphasizes rejection by stressing the negative."' Both modes allow rhetors to seek symbolic change, but rejection refuses symbols of authority in order to shift power.4 Unlike comedy, which as a frame of acceptance emphasizes the oneness of the rhetor with the object of comedy in which all laugh together, frames of rejection stress separation between the burlesque rhetor and the target because the "burlesque rhetor wishes to decry the operations. While alterity has been theorized as "extra-rhetorical;' or "prior rhetorical," via the work of Diane Davis drawing on Emmanuel Levinas, in chapter 5 I propose that alterity can also provide a way to enrich criticism of identities, by showing how discursive and material symbols as they construct particular identities also exclude others. This fundamental pairing of "this is who we are" (identity) with "this is who we are not" (alterity) is a driver of contemporary social-movement rhetoric in which battles over identity form the core of rhetorical strategies.

In chapter 1, I gave a brief introduction to what rhetorical scholars have done with Burke's concept of the burlesque with regard to rhetoric. Rhetorical scholars have been open to the persuasive affordances of this category's approach to social action, finding utility in Burke's definition, but retheorizing it for new contexts. A. Cheree Carlson theorizes the limits of the "charitable" openness of the comic frame of acceptance in "promoting peaceful social change."' In Carlson's analysis of "witty American women of the nineteenth century" she traces the shift in women's approach to humor from comedy to satire and ultimately to the burlesque, concurrent with the rise of women's fights for rights.' Contrary to Burke's insistence on the superiority of frames of acceptance, Carlson argues that such frames are of limited value in social movements because "when the strictures of the social order become totally unacceptable ... a 'positive' frame will no longer suffice as an acceptance frame "requires that the actor identify completely with the social order."' While she does not propose that the burlesque offers a complete solution to addressing inequality, Carlson's work invites women into the conversation of burlesque rhetoric, necessarily shifting assumptions about the potential values of acceptance and rejection depending on body and identity specific contexts.

Similarly, in his analysis of William F. Buckley Jr.'s burlesque rhetoric, Edward Appel argues that Burke's classification of literary categories,"require[s] adjustment" for rhetorical messages because the rhetorical situation "features the recommendation of an action for practical, realistic purposes" as opposed to "artistic or entertainment purposes.' He persuasively argues that burlesque as rhetoric is more than the impoverished and partial frame that Burke shows with regard to literature. Instead, Appel concludes that burlesque rhetoric has the capacity "to adopt a frame of acceptance and a frame of rejection at the same time." Thus rhetorical burlesque has the capacity both to reject and to humanize.' Although Appel offers a more capacious rendering of the burlesque than Burke's original poetic category, he separates the theatrical and the rhetorical: rhetoric is practical and theater is entertaining. This separation doesn't go very far in when the rhetorical is recognized as encompassing both the practical and the entertaining, but Appel's theory of deploying frames simultaneously is useful in thinking about the ways that the erotic performances in this book operate rhetorically.

As I claimed in chapter 1, scholarship on burlesque rhetoric has little to do with burlesque as it is taken up in this book, which begs the question: What do stripping women bring to our understanding of burlesque rhetoric? And perhaps more importantly, does it have to bring anything? What I mean by this is that at the end of this project, I am not convinced that Burke's poetic categories from the mid-twentieth century, drawn from terminology for seventeenth-century literary forms, usefully contribute to an understanding of women's erotic performance in the twenty-first century. Yet the concept of burlesque rhetoric remains tantalizing to me as a rhetorician studying erotic dance; I keep finding myself drawn back to it, looking for connection, perhaps just looking to be the type of rhetorician who references Kenneth Burke. As an art form, neo-burlesque retains the spirit of mockery and farce that ties it to the literary genre, but conceptualizing the burlesque as partial and impoverished doesn't feel at all appropriate to the complex rhetorical communication of erotic dance and its contexts presented throughout this book.

In analyzing the rhetorical bodies of erotic dancers, mobilized in performance, mobilized in protest, mobilized as cultural symbol, various frames of rejection are apparent, because they are operating within contexts that are hostile to or at the very least misunderstanding of erotic bodies, particularly women's. Like Carlson's "witty women;' erotic performers have no choice but to reject their antagonists, and like Appel's reclassification of the burlesque, they simultaneously adopt frames of acceptance and rejection. But with erotic performers, acceptance and humanizing aspects of rhetorical performance are designed to claim power for the self and those in coalition, accompanied by rejection of antagonists. The neo-burlesque performer mocks and ridicules, rejecting limits regarding the sup. posed proper places and spaces for women to engage in humorous and erotic spectacle. Neo-burlesque's insistence that any body—regardless of age, gender, race, or ability—can belong in burlesque wholeheartedly rejects norms of appropriateness. Neo-burlesque is also often overtly political, especially as relates to feminist, sex radical, and queer politics. Where neo-burlesque does not resemble literary burlesque is in where its rhetors place themselves. Unlike the burlesquers who laugh at others and emphasize their own superiority, neo-burlesque performers include themselves in on the joke, being the first to laugh at themselves and burlesque themselves along with other targets. By insisting that funniness and sexiness are not mutually exclusive, nec-burlesque embraces inclusiveness, opening up the category.

Similarly, topless dancers in clubs simultaneously adopt frames of acceptance and rejection in their performance rhetoric. Discourses about the proper place for women's bodies, particularly their erotic bodies, more particularly, their erotic bodies in commerce, make rejection a fundamental frame for club strippers. Rejection of entrenched sexist attitudes about visibility of women's sexuality is one aspect of this type of performance, often accompanied by selfacceptance. Many strippers of all types speak about the valuation of their own body as a result of erotic dance. This is not a simplistic "Love your body as is!" mentality. Modifications, cosmetics, enhancing clothes of all types are included in seeing one's own body—not as an object, but as an act, as an art, as having material worth. Dual frames of acceptance and rejection are also at work in the complex performances between customers and dancers. As researchers consistently note, the cultivating of sustaining relationships with regulars often requires a stance of fantasy acceptance paired with rejection in reality.

For erotic dancers who are also activists, either because of long-standing commitments to sex-work activism or because attacks on their employment demand it, rejection is a potent rhetorical frame. When the dominant social order and its symbolic world insist that a particular identity doesn't exist, this is an untenable situation, and a frame of acceptance is not useful or acceptable!' As demonstrated in chapter 4, dis- and rearticulation of an identity like sex worker, requires rejecting dominant social discourses about that work. Any who hold an antagonistic position toward this

identity are rejected as a means of constructing frames of acceptance for the identity. For example, sex-worker activists reject discourses that say they don't exist, that they are always victims and criminals, and rearticulate their identities to show not only that they exist, but also how they exist: as workers, as activists, as tax-paying citizens, as humans.

Thus radical rearticulation as a rhetorical process rejects identities made by others and accepts those made by the group. Antagonists are placed into the position to accept or reject the new proffered identity. Therefore, the acceptance/rejection pairing is at work in political performances as well.

Finally, with regard to the erotic dancer as cultural symbol, whose material rhetoric becomes adopted as a representation of sexual freedom, inclusion, and anti-rape action, we see an amalgamation of these acceptance/rejection framings!: the rejection of cultural norms about women's erotic bodies and denials of subjectivity and the acceptance of self/comrades and identities that insist, not only on existence but also on presence.

As these examples show, Burke's conception of the burlesque that has thus far been the basis of rhetorical scholarship on the form has limited value for the embodied erotic performances under study in this book, but his theories of orientations of acceptance and rejection toward dominant symbolic orders provides a compelling way to categorize the rhetorics presented here. Although Burke's attitude toward resolving social differences through acceptance of one's antagonists is understandable, the contexts of his work and his life are, naturally, so different from the women in this book that it would be shortsighted to assume that this attitude has to fit vastly different social actors and actions.

Drawing on Carlson's argument that rejection is often the only available option for those with no or limited social power and Appel's argument that these frames can operate simultaneously, I propose that a rejection/acceptance pairing is a useful way to understand the symbolic operations of erotic performance and other similarly complicated rhetorical systems. As I have stressed throughout, rhetoric of the body is multicoded, operating in various material and symbolic universes. Therefore, understanding orientations toward those symbolic universes as similarly complicated—rejection, acceptance, both, neither—can help to uncover the rhetorical features that can be hidden in complex communication. When our rhetorical theories and methods don't fit the subjects of our analysis, the rhetorical tradition has been unable to see them. Embodied rhetorical scholarship that focuses on multicoded bodies and performances—like the performances explored in this book—has the potential to remake rhetorical scholarship from the outside in. By starting with those rhetorically complex performances that exceed a single mode of analysis or theoretical approach, we can make our theory responsive to those who actually practice it. If we fail to do so, we risk erasing remarkable rhetorical performers and performances. We also will continue to generate theory that does not adequately respond to the most powerful rhetorics of the present—those that are trying to remake the world while living in it.

This is my performance. I manipulate my readers. I seduce. I give the illusion of stripping myself down with my confessions. If only someone would give me some dollars. <>

Masterworks of Modern Photography 1900–1940: The Thomas Walther Collection at The Museum of Modern Art, New York edited with text by Sarah Hermanson Meister [Silvana Editoriale in association with the Museum of Modern Art, New York, 9788836648061]

A spectacular clothbound compendium of iconic early 20th-century photography from MoMA's archives

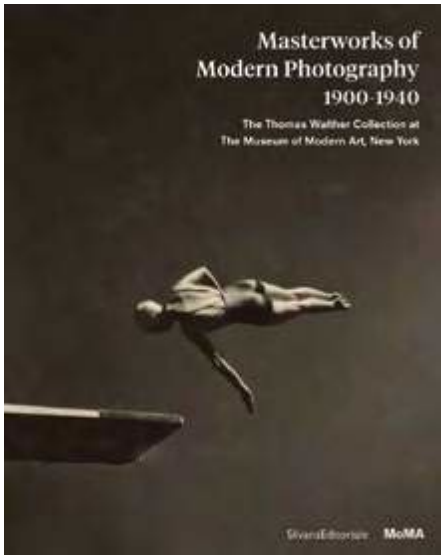
In 2001, the Museum of Modern Art in New York acquired an unprecedented survey of modern photography from longtime collector Thomas Walther. For 20 years, the German-born art enthusiast had dutifully amassed one of the most impressive private collections of photography in the world, replete with pieces from the era between the two World Wars. This time of creative experimentation saw numerous styles and approaches develop in parallel, such as pictorialism, abstraction and candid street photography, before merging into modernism.

Photographers such as Henri Cartier-Bresson brought a new dynamism to their pictures by capturing people as they appeared going about their business on the street, while artists such as Man Ray extended a Surrealist approach to photography, placing props directly onto photo paper and capturing their ghostly silhouettes. Still more photographers continued to experiment with their craft and ultimately defined a generation of photography. Among the pieces included in this clothbound volume are some of the definitive examples of the medium.

Photographers include: Berenice Abbott, Henri Cartier-Bresson, Walker Evans, John Gutmann, André Kertész, Alexander Rodchenko, Man Ray, Paul Strand, Alfred Stieglitz, Edward Steichen and Edward Weston.

CONTENTS

The selection of photographs from the Thomas Walther Collection at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, which is presented here for the first time in Europe, offers far more than just a first-class historical overview of the most important developments in modernist photography in the years from 1900 to 1940.



The approximately four hundred works in the Thomas Walther Collection, the majority of which were acquired for the Museum in 2001 by the then Chief Curator of Photography, Peter Galassi, represent the single greatest addition of works in the history of the world's most important photography collection. Another forty photographs were added to this collection in 2017, when Quentin Bajac was Chief Curator.

This is not only because the collector Thomas Walther, in the years from about 1977 to 1997, tracked down and gathered the best surviving historical prints by the most important photographers of the modernist movements before World War II and a generous cross-section of lesser known practitioners in these movements. Unlike a curator collecting for a museum, the private collector is free from institutional considerations such as acquisition commissions, potential funders, or local preferences. A private collector is bound solely by the criteria he defines for himself—his passion, his intuition, his pleasure (and his own bank account...). Therein lies his privilege and his risk. And that is why private collections can allow themselves a risk-taking and originality, an entirely self-defined stringency and coherence, next to which institutional collections often all look like matte prints of a conventional matrix.

In the ideal case, a private collection, through its idiosyncratic systematics and its unique inner sense, allows a view of the history of art that, while knowing and respecting the scholarly orders, goes far beyond them and blazes new trails in the jungle of artistic phenomena. In this way, aspects suddenly come to view that owe themselves to an individual subcutaneous coherence: in the case of the Thomas Walther Collection, we see in the exhibition and this accompanying publication how modern photography—beyond all schools and styles—keeps focused on a common objective from the beginning of the twentieth century on: an uncompromising liberation of the gaze and of seeing, which has shaped not only painting and the entire fine arts, but far beyond that, the entire visual culture of our world to this day.

Everyone who helped to make this exhibition project possible found themselves working in an intricate and uncertain environment, conditioned by the crisis surrounding the coronavirus pandemic, which is why the following brief acknowledgments are even more heartfelt.

We are profoundly grateful to Thomas Walther, without whose insight and passion this exhibition could never have been presented to the public. His collection is a priceless treasure…

—Tobia Bezzola, Director of the Museo d'arte della Svizzera italiana, Lugano
—Walter Guadagnini, Director of CAMERA - Centro Italiano per la Fotografia, Turin <>

THE FASCINATION OF WHAT'S DIFFICULT: A LIFE OF MAUD GONNE by Kim Bendheim [OR Books, ISBN 9781682192061]

Maud Gonne, the legendary woman known as the Irish Joan of Arc, left her mark on everyone she met. She famously won the devotion of one of the greatest poets of the age, William Butler Yeats. Born into tremendous privilege, she allied herself with rebels and the downtrodden and openly defied what was at the time the world's most powerful empire. She was an actress, a journalist and an activist for the cause of Irish independence. Ignoring the threat of social ostracism, she had several children out of wedlock. She was an independent woman who charted her own course.

Yet Maud Gonne was also a lifelong anti-semite, someone who, even after the horrors of the Second World War, could not summon sympathy for the millions murdered by the Nazis. A believer in the occult and in reincarnation, she took mescaline with Yeats to enhance visions of mythic Irish heroes and heroines, and in mid-life converted to Catholicism in order to marry her husband, the Irish Catholic war hero John MacBride.

What motivated this extraordinary person? Kim Bendheim has long been fascinated by Maud Gonne's perplexing character, and here gives us an intensely personal assessment of her thrilling life. The product of much original research, including interviews with Gonne's equally vivid, unconventional descendants, **THE FASCINATION OF WHAT'S DIFFICULT** is a portrait of a powerful woman who, despite her considerable flaws, continues to inspire.

Review

"With clear-eyed forays into obsession, love, and friendship, Kim Bendheim fleshes out one of the most enigmatic and alluring women in the history of European letters and politics."—Florence Williams

"Thanks to her role as muse to W.B.Yeats, Maud Gonne (1866-1953) is well-known in mythic form to many who have never heard her name. The initial corrective was her own 1938 autobiography, but Kim Bendheim's book is a much more candid and useful book." — recommended in *Tortoise*

CONTENTS

About the Author

Excerpt: This biography is partly the tale of how several lives entwined through the centuries: Maud Gonne's with that of the celebrated Irish poet W. B. Yeats, who wrote poetry to and about her for forty-three years, and hers with mine for the last twenty-five years. She was his muse but she was also an Irish political activist, a noted human rights speaker, a journalist at a time when women journalists were rare. Altogether she played a far greater role in western European history than she is given credit for. In Ireland, but not without, she is justly celebrated as an agent for change. Most biographies focus on her relationship with Yeats, or on the persona she presented the public rather than the amazing tale of her own life which had a lasting effect on thousands and thousands of people on both sides of the Atlantic. She was much more than a muse.

I first encountered Maud Gonne in 1993 when I reviewed the collection of Gonne-Yeats letters, edited by her granddaughter Anna MacBride White and A. Norman Jeffares, the noted Irish literary scholar. I was living in Los Angeles and writing a "Book Beat" column on new Irish literature for a LA-based Irish monthly. I'd been entranced by Irish literature since college and reviewed some wonderful Irish books for the Los Angeles Times that I still cherish.

Reading the letters, I became seduced not, as one might expect, by the great poet's few surviving letters to her, but by Maud's voice on the page. What the letters unravel, like a lovely colored ball of string, is the connection between Yeats and Gonne and the uniqueness of her voice. She encouraged him in his quest for Irish subjects, Irish myths and legends, and supported his celebration of the particularities of holy places and geographic landscapes in Ireland.

Her own voice is singular, irreverent, a in I smart. She was a formidable political agitator, a feminist before the term was coined. She was prophetic. On August 26,1914, at the beginning of the Great War, she wrote Yeats:

> This war is an inconceivable madness which has taken hold of Europe. It is unlike any war that has ever been.... The victor will be nearly as enfeebled as the vanquished.... Could the women, who are after all the guardians of the race, end it? ... I always felt the wave of the woman's power was rising, the men are destroying themselves & we are looking on.

In the first month of the conflict, she predicted the scope of World War I; due to its use of modern weapons, technology, and chemicals to extinguish an estimated 40 million human lives, it would prove to e the deadliest war in history. She wrote with heart and passion about things that mattered, including the terrible conditions of Irish political prisoners in British jails.

Years later as an NYU graduate student, at the suggestion of my professor, I wrote a paper on Yeats's images of Maud as Helen of Troy. It left me wanting to know even more-about her life. Who was she, apart from a love object in Yeats's poetry? Helen of Troy's beauty sparked a war—and Ulysses's ten-year odyssey home to his wife, the clever, patient Penelope—but Maud had a full life outside of Yeats's poems. My dawning feminism grew along with my curiosity about Maud Gonne. This curiosity has endured over two decades and was finally quenched by writing this book.

I was fortunate in the course of my own odyssey to meet warm, interesting people, including Maud's granddaughter Anna MacBride White, a lovely woman who with her husband, a kindly vet, welcomed me into their Dublin home. We had tea in the garden.

Then two years ago in New York, chatting at a holiday party, I told a publisher about my interest in Maud Gonne. He wanted to know if I'd thought of doing a book on her. I said yes and submitted a short proposal. We had a pleasant lunch to discuss, and he followed up by commissioning me to write a book. Maud Gonne had been at the back of my mind for decades, so I jumped at the chance. This biography, my first book, became a way of figuring out why her character had such resonance

with mine and who this elusive, theatrical woman really was: a fiery patriot, a political prisoner, a mother? A clever wealthy woman who wielded her great fortune to successfully promote the cause of Irish nationalism? Or all the above?

In the hunt to penetrate the mysteries of Maud's character, and explain her enduring allure, I returned to Dublin. On this trip, besides going to the National Library of Ireland, I tracked down two of her great-granddaughters, Iseult White and Laragh Stuart, and had lunch with each of them. Wildly different, each woman was engaging in her own way. Iseult is the executor of her mother Anna MacBride White's literary estate. I met with her first, which was relatively easy to arrange as I had known her mother and sister from my first few visits to Dublin.

Before our rendezvous, I researched Iseult White. On her website, she describes herself as an experienced global market manager for technology companies in Silicon Valley where she lived and worked for a number of years. Then, after having completed a master's program in psychotherapy, she reinvented herself in Ireland as a management consultant, executive coach, and psychotherapist. At Iseult's suggestion, we arranged a brunch on a Sunday in November at the airy, elegant Layla's Terrace on the rooftop of the Devlin Hotel in Ranelagh. We were practically the only ones in the restaurant that morning, so she was easy to pick out when she walked in: a confident, middle-aged woman with gorgeous skin and green eyes. The mother of two daughters, she had a solid, grounded presence and straight, perhaps blownout, shoulder-length red hair. At the restaurant she was very particular, ordering a soy cappuccino and porridge with the extras on the side. When it came, she said, "I asked for a piping hot soy milk cappuccino and that is not. Take it back." And they did.

Here was a woman who knew what she wanted and insisted on getting it. In our conversation, after our first flurry of hellos, she emerged as a strong feminist. Speaking of Maud's parenting, she said, "A child of that class was not raised by their mother." She elaborated: "The myth of motherhood emerged postwar as a way to keep women out of the workplace and give the men back their old jobs."

She dryly remarked of Yeats's extensive commentary on Maud, "as if he were a valid source of information on Madame!" Iseult called her great-grandmother Madame, as she was known in Ireland during the last thirty years of her life. Patiently, Iseult spelled out the complicated connections between myriad cousins and told me that her grandfather, Sean MacBride, didn't make any money until the 1940s or 50s, "because he obviously defended all the Republican prisoners for free." He and his family, including Maud who lived with them, survived on Maud's inheritance. Iseult was visibly proud of her grandfather, whom she knew as a child. As a small child at the time, she was of course aware he'd been awarded the 1974 Nobel Peace Prize for cofounding Amnesty International.

Iseult couldn't answer basic questions about her great-grandmother, since she hadn't known her personally, just through stories. I asked, was Maud Gonne six feet tall? How tall was the woman billed as "a goddess"? Iseult didn't know, but was helpful in other ways. After brunch, she offered to drive me to Roebuck House, where Madame spent the final decades of her life, with her daughter-in-law known as "Kid," her son Sean and their two children, Anna and Tiernan MacBride. We parted, and Iseult drove off. Then I walked around Roebuck House. It looked much as it did in pictures, a big two-story brick structure, except instead of a garden in back there was a parking lot.

In interviews on the web, Iseult discussed how "as a child creativity was my friend. Reading, writing, painting, piano, and ballet created sanctuary from a childhood punctured by trauma." Singular in the current tell-all climate, she refused in-person and via email to discuss the source of her trauma, only explaining that "it should be possible to talk about PTSD without having to describe the trauma." She further added in an email: "If I ever talk/write about the trauma it will be in my own words." Iseult is

the author of The Mindfulness Workout: A Guide to Mental Fitness for Teenagers and the Adults in Their Lives, so perhaps one day she will indeed write a book about it.

After meeting with Iseult, I located Laragh Stuart, the granddaughter of Maud's illegitimate daughter Iseult Gonne. Laragh's great-grandfather was Lucien Millevoye, while Iseult White's was John MacBride—two very different men. Like her cousin, Laragh made a vivid impression: she's a smart, slight, ethereal woman with long wavy reddish-brown blond hair. Also a mother, she'd successfully run her own business for twenty-one years, in Dublin, selling delicious-sounding sauces and soups like beetroot, dill, and crème fraiche. On Instagram, her brand is described as "the creators of fine arts soups and sauces taken from the soil and made by humans, additive-free and gluten-free." Since we met for lunch in November 2018, she has shuttered that business and pivoted into art photography. Not surprising that she has been preoccupied with art: Laragh's father, Ian, was the well-regarded Irish sculptor Ian Stuart. In his day, he exhibited at the Paris Biennale, in galleries in Dublin, and museums in New York and London.

Laragh and I arranged via email to meet inside the entrance to the grand Shelbourne Hotel. She had just returned via Paris from a trip to Cambodia with her fourteen-year-old son. Inside, we went to the Horseshoe Bar. Laragh said that her father would take her there for lunch, a happy memory from her peripatetic childhood. When she was little, she learned to walk in the VW van that her parents bought to drive with her and her sister to India. In India, they lived on a houseboat. At twelve, she was sent to boarding school in England. "I didn't know the alphabet. I would go into the kindergarten room at night to learn to read. I was embarrassed, but at the end of the year, I was up to the level of the other children."

Laragh is now forty-eight. Like her cousin Iseult, she obviously suffered some trauma in her childhood, making me wonder at the different ways women can be resilient and overcome their pasts. Clearly Laragh still missed her father, though he was a much older father to her and her two sisters. Ian had married Laragh's mother, Anna, whom he knew because she had been a schoolfriend of one of his three daughters by his first wife, the artist Imogen Stuart. The family, as I was learning firsthand, was quite complicated, filled with half sisters and brothers and cousins. As Iseult White remarked, "In Ireland growing up it was very unusual. I never knew if people were friends of the family or cousins." Laragh had the same issue. At lunch, she speculated that "maybe Lucien Millevoye wasn't Iseult's father." In a follow-up email, she suggested, "Maybe it was Yeats."

It felt as if I were looking through a telescope down through the generations. Each of the two women, via two different men, provided a glimpse into the Maud Gonne of the past. Though neither of the two had known her, both grew up hearing plenty of stories about her, Iseult from her grandfather Sean MacBride and from her mother, the editor Anna MacBride White, who was partly raised by her grandmother Maud. Laragh would have heard stories from her father, the talkative Ian Stuart who, a generation older than Laragh's mother, had known his mother and grandmother quite well. My own perception of this complicated woman, Maud Gonne, developed and changed over the course of the two years it took to research and write her biography. I hope it will give readers yet another angle from which to view Maud Gonne, an international celebrity of her era. Though at birth Maud had been blessed with many gifts—looks, intelligence, and her own fortune—growing up she was an emotional orphan. Her mother died when she was four. Her tender, caring father, a captain in the British Army, posted all over the empire, was away for long stretches of time. He was literally unavailable. Like Princess Di, her empathy for others outside her social bubble seemed infinite. Unlike other debutantes, she found a cause greater than herself to dedicate her life to: that of Ireland, then solidly under Britain's boot and the poorest, most rural country in Western Europe. As

an activist, she took on the daunting task of toppling the British Empire by any means possible, including force.

One of the reasons Maud intrigued me was that, though she lived more than one hundred fifty years ago, in some ways her life seemed strangely familiar. When it came to men, Maud's fortune complicated her romantic life. Her financial assets, while empowering her, were intimidating to men. I understood, because I too have felt money as a burden when dating.

I have insight into obsessive and tormented love like Yeats's for Maud—he proposed four times—because I was pursued by a man for years and years while I was preoccupied with my own unrequited love for a restless philanderer. The role of obsession and love for creative artists, the questions of real love versus passing fancy or fruitless obsession, of when the torment outweighs the pleasure—these continue to intrigue me as a writer and as a woman.

The last American biography of Maud Gonne was published forty years ago. It does not deal with her great wealth, concluding she had "a modest income." The very title of a 2016 Irish biography, The Adulterous Muse, belittles the woman. No one has ever written a biography of Yeats and called it The Adulterous Poet, although he too had a first affair with a married woman. Now that the debate triggered by the Me Too movement has broadened to include women's rights and basic issues of social justice all over the world, her life, loves, and contributions in these areas should be reevaluated. With the worldwide ascendance of dictators and the growing censorship of freedom of expression, the rights of protestors and of political prisoners, which Maud championed for decades, remains an international issue.

The dangers as well as the glories of transcendent nationalism is another timely topic. Currently numerous people choose to martyr themselves in order to murder civilians, giving themselves moments of fame on international TV. Maud is the happy example of a fanatic who, in the course of her long life, became an admirer of leaders who used peaceful means to achieve radical political ends.

In researching this biography these last two years, I learned that the challenges facing a woman born in 1866 remain resonant for women today. We women continue to struggle with questions of political power, money, and independence; we struggle with the question of how to find a loving partner and how to see peace, not war, reign over our planet.

When I began this project, I admired Maud as a strong woman who pursued a challenging path: She was a rousing leader for the cause of Irish nationalism after centuries of exploitation by the British. She became the inspiration for Yeats, one of the greatest poets in the English language, but she was my heroine because instead of just being a debutante, she was a rebel. She forged a highly effective political path before women had the vote or the right to keep their own property under their name when they married in France or in the United States. England had only changed its onerous laws regarding married women's property rights in 1882. An unmarried upper class young woman would normally be accompanied in public by her parents, another relative or spinster as chaperone. Single upper-class young women did not often travel alone and if they did they became prey, like the heroine of a Henry James novel. Maud evaded that fate.

In the process of researching this biography I learned that Maud Gonne was a complex, difficult woman. As I intuited, there was a lot more going on in her life than the little I learned about her in my twentieth-century lit class at NYU. Not all aspects of her character appealed. For instance, I was horrified to discover she was a lifelong anti-Semite, especially given my growing cultural affiliation as a Jew. Nor, I discovered, was she the woman whose image she projected out into the world: that of an Irish Joan of Arc.

Maud Gonne was neither Irish by birth nor by heritage, unless you count one Irish great-grandparent. Nor, like Joan, to whom the press compared her, was she a teenager. She was the mother of two children, one out of wedlock. She lived a long life and died at home, aged eighty-seven, with her daughter-in-law, two grandchildren, and lifelong friends. The real Joan of Arc was a nineteen-year-old virgin burned alive by the English as a heretic and witch. In the nineteenth century, the Catholic Church began the long process of transforming Joan's reputation, declaring her a saint in 1920.

What did Joan and Maud Gonne, an Irish nationalist celebrated in three countries for her looks, her journalism, and her eloquent public speaking, have in common? Did Maud Gonne pull off one of the biggest publicity shams of the century? Did she accomplish much good in the world? If so, what lives on after her? I had many questions and by now my own obsession with Maud Gonne. This book is the result.

***

Last summer, miserable in 108-degree heat in Paris, reading Maud's denunciation of Dreyfus written decades after he'd been cleared of all charges and reinstated as a captain in the French Army, I asked myself if I really wanted to complete this project. I had uncovered complicated shadows to this woman's life—her deep-rooted, irrational anti-Semitism, her constant fabrications and embellishments, her absentee motherhood of her own children. It has been hard to like her.

But the complexity of Maud's character is one of the things that makes her a compelling figure, and her tireless efforts on behalf of human rights and Irish independence deserve respect. Against all odds, she made her voice heard in England, Europe, and the United States. So much of what she fought for and against, and so much of what caused her anxiety, are issues women are still grappling with today. So, despite those aspects of her life and beliefs that were difficult to accept, it seemed important to set the record straight.

Previous biographers have either accepted Maud's self-defined role as the Irish Joan of Arc, or alternatively focused on her life as Yeats's muse. In this brief book, I have labored to show her in the round, as a complex human being. She deserves to be admired for what she accomplished: pushing the door open so that other women could join the Irish nationalist movement. Of lasting significance is her lifetime of work on behalf of political prisoners, work that her son built on in creating Amnesty International, which continues to fight for human rights around the world.

Maud is interesting because of her complexity. She was a debutante and a rebel, a wealthy English Victorian woman who carefully crafted an Irish identity for the press and for the world. She betrayed her class by siding with the underdog, the vulnerable poor and the disenfranchised. In 1913 Jim Larkin led workers in a huge strike for a living wage in what became Dublin's greatest industrial struggle. The authorities and the Church were on the side of the magnates, another dreadful episode in modern Irish history. The workers lost, but Maud helped feed their children in Dublin during their strike, selling the last of her jewels to do so.

I empathized with her difficulties with men stemming from her elegant, appealing looks, her independent fortune, and her adoration of family members who died while she was young: first her mother, then her father. She had the characteristic sadness of a girl who lost her mother in early childhood. That seemed to have been the source of her huge empathy for unfortunates. Usually, she was on the side of the underdog, the most vulnerable members of society, including children, and I admired her empathy with those outside her narrow social circle.

Although a talented theatrical beauty, she questioned her own right to personal happiness. She had to be continually occupied, tied up with meaningful work for a grand cause. The poignancy of a young woman skeptical of the praise elicited by her own face and figures remains timeless. It was one I could relate to because after thirteen years at an all-girls school, having no brothers, and then tragically losing my older sibling—who until her illness was my role model—I found it hard to take my admirers seriously in college. I had never been on a "date" with a boy until then, and the clash between their attraction to my person and the terrible sense of desolation I felt within was too acute for me to process when I myself was just out of my teens.

Likewise, the question of how a woman with more money deals with a potential mate who has less remains relevant. Women continue to make political and economic strides towards equality in the twenty-first century but our success is by no means assured. All along the way, it has taken groundbreaking women such as Maud to lead us forward.

The role of obsession in art is fascinating and complex. The role of obsession in love is equally interesting. My professional obsession with Maud Gonne has ended with the completion of this book. Yeats wondered whether it was only his yearning after Maud that drove him toward a mastery of words with which to win her and express his frustrations. Obsession can drive the creative work of an artist and open individuals up to what Proust called the malady of love.

Yeats and Maud's enduring caring relationship can serve as an example of obsessive love. Strange though it may appear to those hearing their story for the first time, and although it sometimes tests credulity and defies conventional resolution, I believe very strongly that their relationship should be celebrated. Those who yearn helplessly to possess another human being, body and soul, express an elemental part of human experience, one that we can observe rather than judge.

Even as she aged, Yeats returned to Maud again and again in his magical poems. I found inspiration in Maud's great passions and life's work, seeing how raising her voice in public and on the page had a considerable effect in England, France, and the United States. She's become something of a role model for me. Maud's advocacy for human rights, the rights of political prisoners to be treated like human beings, rather than animals, resonates in our turbulent time, when dictators have popped up all over the world, across a wide variety of geographies and cultures. No one who reads about Maud's life can argue that one woman's voice can't make a difference in the world. She was much more than a muse.

It seems fitting that just as I finished this epilogue I met my cousin, newly moved to New York City, at the statue of Joan of Arc on Riverside Drive at 93rd Street. I had never known it was there in my neighborhood. The statue, I learned, was erected in 1915, during Maud's lifetime, and I reflected on how the fabulously inventive

Maud took on the mantle of Joan of Arc, six centuries after the young Joan was burned at the stake. Maud made Joan relevant half a millennium later to contemporary women, including the two great-granddaughters that I met. I am grateful to Maud Gonne for the journey she has taken me on, writing a contemporary biography of this multifaceted woman, building on the work other writers and scholars have done before. My quest to discover the source of my strange empathy with and fascination for Maud Gonne has ended. <>

THE DIE IS CAST by Robert Desnos, translated by Jesse L. Anderson [Wakefield Press, ISBN: 9781939663696] Originally published as *Le vin est tire . .* by Editions Gallimard in 1943.

A startlingly contemporary portrait of drug addiction in prewar Paris

Published in 1943 (just a year before its author was arrested by the Gestapo for his Resistance activities), **THE DIE IS CAST** was a departure for Robert Desnos: a shift from his earlier, frenetic Surrealist prose to a social realism that borrowed as much from his life experience as his career as a journalist. Drawing on his own use of drugs in the 1920s and his doomed relationship with the chanteuse Yvonne George, Desnos here portrays a band of opium, cocaine and heroin users from all walks of life in Paris. It is a startlingly contemporary portrayal of overdoses, arrests, suicides and the flattened solitude of the addict, yet published in occupied Paris, years before "junkie literature" established itself with the Beat Generation. An anomaly both in his career and for having been published under the Occupation by an active member of the Resistance, *The Die Is Cast* now stands as timely a piece of work as it had been untimely when it first appeared.

Robert Desnos (1900–45) was Surrealism's most accomplished practitioner of automatic writing and dictation before his break with André Breton in 1929. His career in journalism and radio culminated in an active role in the French Resistance. Desnos was arrested by the Gestapo in 1944, and passed through several concentration camps until finally dying of typhoid in Terezín in 1945, a few days after the camp he was in was liberated.

CONTENTS

Arichetti's mother
Courvoisier arrived late to Lily's
Marie-Jacqueline had been living at Lily's
There are days in Paris
Antoine was not at all surprised
The Columot factory
Dondlinger had found
Courvoisier smiled sadly
Without drugs
Why this day
One April afternoon
Several months before

To readers familiar with the more celebrated selections from Robert Desnos's oeuvre, his late novel **THE DIE IS CAST** (*Le vin est tiré* Literally, "the wine is drawn," a French expression whose English equivalents include this translation's title and "the bed is made," the message being that some actions lead to less than desirable consequences that one must face. Although the English-language idioms capture the meaning of the French, they lack the allusion to intoxication, which is especially pertinent in a book about opium addiction.) will look something like an oddity, a blip of social fiction toward the end of a somewhat irregular output of surrealist poetry. And this impression wouldn't be wrong: the book—which tracks the deterioration of a small band of Parisian opium addicts—is indeed an oddity when set beside the rest of Desnos's literary work, not simply for being social fiction, but for being fiction without any qualifier attached. When **THE DIE IS CAST** was published in 1943, Desnos had written only a handful of other novels: Liberty or Love!, Mourning for Mourning, and The Punishments of Hell, books an anglophone hesitates to even label as novels (the French have always been more generous with the word) owing to their diminutive length and heterodox content. Add to this the fact that **THE DIE IS CAST** was written some two decades after these other fictional works, and the blip stands out even more.

But if we take a closer look at Desnos's work and life, the novel begins to make more sense. Desnos was socially engaged to a degree that was unusual among other early surrealists. He covered any number of political and social topics while working as a journalist in his twenties, and much of his later poetry was overtly political. And he didn't limit himself to words: during the German Occupation, he used his journalistic access to privileged information to aid the French Resistance, an action that would eventually cost him his life.

Other instances of Desnos's political convictions and development can be found throughout his biography. In 1928, he helped smuggle the Cuban writer and dissident Alejo Carpentier out of his home country aboard a France-bound ship. On another occasion, Desnos began smashing glasses in a club after a Black friend was refused admission, on racial grounds, to the dance floor. More specific to the concerns of the novel, Desnos had watched his beloved Yvonne George, a Belgian cabaret singer, succumb to opium addiction—a passive incident compared to the more engaged ones just cited, but it's also the most central to understanding the germination of **THE DIE IS CAST.**

The experiences and impulses necessary to write the novel, then, were there to be drawn upon. Desnos—who'd already written poems and prose, song lyrics, plays, advertisements, and radio jingles—simply had to make the decision to sit down and write it.

Robert Desnos was born on 4 July 1900, to parents on a steady rise toward the middle class. His father sold poultry in Les Halles, a famous and expansive Parisian market, and for most of Robert's childhood the family lived in the nearby Marais neighborhood, a medieval section of Paris whose mystic atmosphere Desnos would credit with spurring his precocious imagination. He was young

enough to avoid fighting in the First World War but still had to complete mandatory military service after high school. It was during this time that he first met—through mutual friend Benjamin Peret—Andre Breton and Louis Aragon, who would soon become figureheads of the surrealist movement. It wasn't until Desnos was discharged in 1922, however, that he was fully integrated into the burgeoning group and began making a name for himself as a poet.

The most noteworthy of Desnos's early experiences with the Breton-helmed group were what are known as the automatist sessions, nocturnal séances during which those who gathered—sometimes individually, sometimes in groups—appeared to fall into a trance through a kind of self-hypnosis and then interacted with the others from an apparently heightened or altered state of awareness. How authentic these trances were is debatable, but what's clear from contemporaneous accounts is that Desnos was far more impressive than the others while hypnotized (an account of this can be found in Breton's surrealist classic, *Nadja*). He would become a seemingly endless fount of short, word play—laden poems, and some of his earliest published works, the "Rrose Sélavy" poems, were a product of these sessions.

Desnos went on composing surrealist poetry through the 1920s while also beginning his career as a journalist. This didn't sit well with Breton, who saw journalism as a profession unworthy of someone with Desnos's linguistic talents. It was an early crack in their friendship, and by the end of the decade—after many boyish internecine battles among the surrealists—Desnos had become, so to speak, unaffiliated, a free agent. Some months later, in April 1930, Desnos went through another life-shifting event: the death of Yvonne George, whom he'd fallen in love with shortly after meeting her in the mid-1920s. By many accounts. Desnos was obsessed with the Belgian chanteuse, and though his love went unrequited, he grew increasingly obsequious as her health deteriorated from the combined effects of opiate addiction and tuberculosis. During the last two years of her life, Desnos had even begun hunting down drugs for her.

So the 1930s, for Desnos, began with ruptured artistic ties and a dead love interest. He soon found replacements for both. In the creative domain, Desnos began work as a radio broadcaster, a job he adored and would continue at until the outbreak of the Second World War. Reflecting his wide-ranging curiosity, Desnos was involved with a variety of programs and hosted several, including one dedicated to the exploration of foreign cultures and another, *La Clef des Songes* (The key to dreams), in which he interpreted listeners' dreams. He also discovered a knack for marketing, and wrote radio ads for pharmaceuticals, furs, the National Lottery, chocolate, perfume, and much else besides. Unfortunately, and owing to the fact that Desnos lived in a time before widespread recording of the radio, only some twenty minutes of his voice have been passed down to posterity.

As for love, Desnos had already fallen for another woman by the time of George's death. Her name was Youki Foujita, a Frenchwoman who'd adopted her decidedly un-French first name—it was originally Lucie—after marrying Japanese painter Tsuguhara Foujita. Desnos and Youki were interested in each other while the marriage was still intact, but the sudden and lasting departure of her husband in 1931, along with his sanctioning of their relationship in a farewell letter, allowed the two to go beyond mere interest and move in together. Though never legally married, they would remain a couple until the end of Desnos's life.

He published scantily in the 1930s, but Desnos was still writing and, for a time, strove to complete a poem every night before bed. It was during this period that Desnos wrote one of his most celebrated poems, "The Tale of the Bear," a response to the interwar political upheaval in Paris and an example of his artistic engagement with society at large. It was a harbinger of the kind of work Desnos would publish in the even more turbulent decade to come.

In the fall of 1939, Desnos was mobilized and sent to Brittany with the 436th Regiment of Pioneers. Upon his return to Paris the following August, he found that the radio stations had become propaganda outlets for the Vichy regime and returned to newspaper work to make a living. His columns were often, to varying degrees of explicitness, politically charged, with pieces on themes like neighbor-on-neighbor denunciation and French unity. He also wrote regular reviews of jazz records, a poke in the eye to the Nazis, who considered the genre degenerate.

The articles weren't enough. Soon after some thirteen thousand French Jews were rounded up in, and subsequently deported from, the Velodrome d'Hiver stadium in July 1942, Desnos joined the Agir ("Act," in English) Resistance cell, for whom, in addition to supplying information gathered using his press credentials, he forged identification documents.

THE DIE IS CAST was released the following year by Gallimard. Employing an ensemble cast of characters to show opium's non-discretionary appeal across class and generational lines, Desnos is explicit in his preface regarding the novel's purpose: "This book attempts, without the author necessarily believing himself to have succeeded, to demonstrate that social circumstances are responsible for the daily increase in the diffusion of drugs, that addicts deserve to be brought back into the fold of daily life, that the current suppression-based laws are absurd, unjust, harmful, and that it's vital, with the assistance of the medical community, to reform our barbaric legal system." The book is antidrug, but it's not anti-addict. The empathy espoused by Desnos, in these lines written nearly eighty years ago, is admirable; the argument he makes is prescient. One need only look at the success of models that have adopted an approach similar to that described by Desnos—Portugal being a notable example—to see how clear-sighted he was.

Though it does at times take turns toward the surrealistic that are reminiscent of—and arguably even allusive to—his earlier writings, the book's straightforward aim renders fruitless the deep, symbol-driven exegesis that can be done with much of Desnos's work: **THE DIE IS CAST** speaks for itself.

Of course, the reader can draw connections between the text and Desnos's life. Barbara—the wealthy, elusive love interest of Antoine, the closest character the book has to a protagonist—is modeled on Yvonne George, and Antoine's continually thwarted relationship with Barbara bears more than a passing resemblance to Desnos's own doomed courtship. Antoine's visit to Barbara's apartment in the third chapter gives an idea of the utter powerlessness Desnos may have felt in his pursuit of George. To take the Antoine—Desnos connection further, the opening scene, a hallucinogenic memory of Antoine's military service in Morocco, is almost certainly based on Desnos's own posting in Morocco before he joined the surrealists. And Les Halles, where Desnos's father worked, is memorably described through Antoine's eyes in one of the book's best scenes.

But such details, in the end, are trivia. What matters is that **THE DIE IS CAST** is a very good book—entertaining, moving, replete with descriptions and scenes that are not easily forgotten—written by a highly and multitudinously talented writer. That Desnos hadn't written any fiction of note for fifteen years only makes his accomplishment here more impressive.

Desnos also published the poetry collection *Etat de veille* (which included "Tale of the Bear") in 1943; the year after, he published another set of poems in *Contrée*. Both books were political in a manner the Germans would not have appreciated, and both were semi-clandestine—meaning they were available in some bookstores but had evaded the collaborationist censors. **THE DIE IS CAST** allowed Desnos to openly address a political issue close to his heart, without fear that it might land him in prison, or worse.

Tragically, Desnos's work in the Resistance was already leading him toward such a fate.

Desnos was arrested on 22 February 1944. A colleague from Aujourd'hui, the newspaper he was then working for, had called his apartment that morning to warn him that the Gestapo were out looking for him. Desnos helped Alain Brieux—a young man he'd taken in to help avoid a forced work program recently instituted by the Germans—escape and then stayed behind to protect Youki. A trio of officers soon arrived and took Desnos away to Gestapo headquarters, on rue des Saussaies. From there, Desnos passed through two transit camps and on 30 April arrived at Auschwitz-Birkenau, where he had his head shaved, was put into a striped uniform, and had the number 185,443 tattooed on his arm.

He made it out of Auschwitz. It seems that those running the camp were surprised to have been sent a non-Jewish convoy, and Desnos's group was sent away to Buchenwald in mid-May. Before the end of the month, Desnos would be transferred again, this time to Flossenbürg. It was to be another short stay—on 2 June, he left for Flöha, on the Czech border. He arrived the next day and would remain there until April.

His time at Flöha wasn't as hard as it might have been. He was able to receive packages from Youki to supplement the meager rations, and his duties were among the camp's easiest. According to fellow prisoners, he was voluble and often in surprisingly high spirits, telling stories and reading fortunes in the evening. This all changed, however, when a confrontation with a server led to Desnos throwing hot soup into the other's face. As punishment, Desnos would be given the camp's most demanding jobs for the remainder of his stay.

This would last only about a month. It was the spring of 1945, and the Americans were moving inexorably closer, leading to the camp's evacuation on 14 April. The prisoners then began a brutal march toward another camp, Terezin, or Theresienstadt, in Czechoslovakia. Conditions along the way were wretched, and Desnos was much older than most of the other prisoners. Nevertheless, he made it to Terezin alive—in bad shape, but alive—on 7 May. The Allies won the war the very next day; the prisoners were free; the only thing to be done now was find a way back home. Desnos wouldn't make it. He grew increasingly ill, and just days after meeting a Czech doctor who'd recognized him from a photo in *Nadja*, Desnos died on the morning of 8 June. Weeks before his arrest, a film for which Desnos had written the screenplay, *Bonsoir Mesdames, Bonsoir Messieurs,* was released in Parisian cinemas. Two months into his imprisonment, two of his most celebrated works were published, *Contrée* and *Trente chantefables pour les enfants sages a chanter sur n'importe quel air,* a collection of nursery rhymes that's still taught to children today. Later this same year, *Le bain avec Andromède* would come out, and 1945 saw the publication of a play, *La Place de l'étoile*, and a long poem, "*Calixto*."

Desnos's arrest and deportation, it seems, cut short an unprecedented stream of productivity. We can only guess what else might have come of it. <>

Breathing: An Inspired History by Edgar Williams [Reaktion Books, 9781789143621

Our knowledge of breathing has shaped our social history and philosophical beliefs since prehistory. Breathing occupied a spiritual status for the ancients, while today it is central to the practice of many forms of meditation, like Yoga. Over time physicians, scientists, and engineers have pieced together the intricate biological mechanisms of breathing to devise ever more sophisticated devices to support and maintain breathing indefinitely, from iron lungs to the modern ventilator. Breathing supplementary oxygen has allowed us to conquer Everest, travel to the Moon, and dive to ever greater ocean depths. We all expect to breathe fresh and clean air, but with an increase in air

pollution that expectation is no longer being met. Today, respiratory viruses like COVID-19 are causing disasters both human and economical on a global scale. This is the story of breathing—a tale relevant to everyone.

CONTENTS

The biology of breathing has been a lifelong fascination of mine. It is a phenomenon I have spent my career studying in creatures of all sizes, from small aquatic crustaceans to fish and humans. Along the way I have read widely on the subject, its history and its background, not only to inform my own research but that of students to whom I have had the great pleasure of teaching respiratory physiology for many years. As a respiratory physiologist investigating the mechanisms of breathing, I have travelled the world working in the very laboratories where many of the great discoveries in the science and history of breathing were made. In any series of lectures on the physiology and pathology of breathing, the names of the scientists and physicians who first made these discoveries arise, since they often named the mechanisms they had discovered after themselves: hence we have the Bohr effect, Cheyne-Stokes breathing and Guillain-Barre Syndrome, to name but a few. Research into the cause and management of respiratory illness is important, as it remains one of the greatest causes of global morbidity and mortality, affecting young and old alike.

The history of how we gained our present understanding of breathing is both long and fascinating. It spans many centuries, progressing in fits and starts as major discoveries suddenly revealed new insights into the mechanisms of breathing, such as the first microscopic examination of the lungs by the anatomist Marcello Malpighi (1628-1694), the discovery of oxygen in the eighteenth century, and the identification of the tuberculosis bacterium by Robert Koch in 1882. Historical epidemics of polio, tuberculosis and influenza have shown us how important breathing is to our health. The twentieth century brought huge increases in chronic incurable respiratory conditions such as asthma and smoking-induced chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD). In the twenty-first century, methods of improving health and wellness, such as yoga and meditation, have been popularized. Central to their practice is the self-control of breathing, which helps to manage stress and ease the pressures experienced in everyday life.

Recently air pollution has focused the health-conscious public and governments of the world on the long-term impact of our health. Researchers have realized that ultra-small carbon particles from vehicle exhausts can enter the blood via the lungs and lodge in tissues within the brain and heart. Breathing has gained new cultural relevance with the emergence of the worldwide Covid-19 pandemic in 2020. The unknown virus, which originated in China and is new to the human species, spread rapidly around the world, infecting and killing millions of people. This coronavirus enters

bodies through the delicate respiratory membranes in the lungs. On its arrival, suddenly breathing other people's breath became potentially dangerous to life, as nobody had any immunity to the virus (officially named SARS-COV-2). Quarantine, isolation and physical distancing became global watchwords as every country's economy shut down in an attempt to keep everyone safe. We all had to breathe within our own individual space, as did our nearest and dearest.

In most cases of Covid-19, the disease caused by the virus, the viral infection causes mild symptoms such as persistent coughing, a raised body temperature and aching limbs. Most people who catch the virus experience these mild symptoms, which pass quickly, but in a few cases, particularly vulnerable members of the public such as the elderly and those with heart disease, virus-induced pneumonia develops, making breathing difficult. Indeed, staying alive depends on breathing supplying the body with enough oxygen. Many of those who recover in full have commented on their struggle to breathe and how frightening this sensation can be. For the unfortunate few whose bodies overreact to the infection, in whom a `cytokine storm' develops into pneumonia, the only solution is mechanical ventilation and sedation until the storm is over. This book describes how, through the development of our understanding of breathing, we conceived the technology to support breathing, whether it be partially via a mask or fully by ventilator. It tells the story of how physicians and scientists sought to eliminate respiratory illness, and how they not only discovered the secrets of breathing but developed machines to support it. The innovations have helped to prolong life, and aid breathing on mountain tops or when diving beneath the sea.

Throughout, I have sought to answer a single question: why do we breathe the way we do? This book sets out the evidence.

Inspired Breathing

Breathing is such an ethereal and everyday occurrence that it is rarely the subject of poems, works of art, books or cultural phenomena. It does, however, feature in many English phrases and idioms. Before our modern understanding of breathing, early writers saw breathing in the context of pneuma, as a spiritual phenomenon. In fiction it was considered as a gentle breeze or as a spirit providing a vital life force. As we reach modern times, breathing becomes more visceral. Most modern works of fiction are permeated with a plethora of references to breathing, where it is used to signify heightened emotional states. Films with a breathing theme do exist and feature stories about extreme environments or the consequences of chronic respiratory disease.

There many phrases and idioms in the English language associated with breathing, be they physical, psychological or comical. One can talk 'under one's breath'. Less complimentary is the expression, 'I wouldn't breathe the same air' or the sarcastic retort 'pardon me for breathing; which can be followed with 'what a waste of breath' (which is related to the more archaic saying about 'saving one's breath to cool one's porridge'). To have someone 'breathing down your neck' is not a pleasant experience, giving the sense of being overly pressurized by someone or something.

On a more positive note there are phrases such as 'like a breath of fresh air' or to 'take someone's breath away,' usually referring to an inspiring or cheerful event. 'Catching one's breath' can signify the straightforward act of resting to overcome a temporary bout of breathlessness or can be uttered in order to initiate a brief pause to collect one's thoughts or plan ahead for what to do next. The phrases `to breathe a sigh of relief', 'breathing room' and 'breathing space' all speak for themselves, as does 'take a breather'.

A common phrase is 'with bated breath', or sometimes the malapropism 'with baited breath', the title of a Warhammer novel by George Mann. This phrase is frequently used but has obscure origins.

At first it may seem to imply that the subject has halitosis, but this is not the case. It was first used by Shakespeare in the comedy The Merchant of Venice, by the character Shylock:

> SHYLOCK: Shall I bend low, and in a servant's whine, with bated breath and whispering humbleness say, 'Sir you spit on me on Wednesday last.

'Bated' is a short form of the word 'abated: The phrase 'bated breath' was popular in Victorian times, especially in the numerous melodramatic novels popular at the time. Good illustrative examples can be found in the novels of Georg Ebers, the German Egyptologist who discovered the medical papyri that bear his name. Ebers tried to popularize his discoveries through writing historical romances. In his novel A Thorny Path from1892, his characters 'listened with outstretched necks and bated breath', 'stood at the window with bated breath' and 'listened with bated breath'.

'Don't breathe a word' is a usually issued as a warning, asking someone to keep a secret. The opposite is found in ‘long-winded’ when a person speaks for an unnecessarily long time. Even inanimate items can breathe, such as wine, and in times gone by the medical practice of breathing a vein was considered good medicine and used to treat many a condition or illness.

The ancient Greeks, without our modern view of breathing, saw only pneuma and aether. Homer made effective use of these phenomena in his epic poems The Odyssey and The Iliad. In the first, The Odyssey, Homer equates peace and tranquillity with breathing, often referring to the gentle breath of the wind and evoking a quiet and peaceful climate: 'the gods becalmed me twenty days without so much as a breath of fair wind to help me forward', or 'Minerva took the form of the famous sea captain Dymas's daughter . . . then, coming up to the girl's bedside like a breath of wind, she hovered over her head'.

In stark contrast, in the more bloodthirsty Iliad, which includes the siege of Troy, where the Greeks battled the Trojans, the loss of breath or pneuma signifies the loss of life. Many warriors die in this epic, such as Achilles: 'Long as Achilles breathes this vital air' and 'The corpse now breathless on the bloody plain: Furthermore, breathing is commonly attached to an emotion or behaviour: 'Breathing revenge, in arms they take their way' and 'Thus they, breathing united force with fixed thought, Moved on in silence:

The fiction of Geoffrey Chaucer (1343-1400) includes the notion of pneuma, and its function as a vital life force and as a mechanism to cool the body, with the lungs considered the engine of the body.' In the Canterbury Tales the first tale, The Knights Tale (1386-8), explores the effects of love on two cousins, Palamon and Arcite, and ends with Arcite dying after being thrown from his horse. Here Chaucer describes the death in detail: after the heart stops beating, the 'pipes of his longes' 'shent with venym and corrupcioun', In other words, the circulation of the blood ceases, and the lungs cannot cool the body anymore. The final demise happens thus: `Dusked his eyen two and failled breeth' with the loss of breathing marking the point of death. This passage provides a good view of medical knowledge at the time, reflecting the view that breath was a vital life force.

Shakespeare's works contain many references to breathing, both dramatic and functional, such as in the following exchange from Romeo and Juliet:

> NURSE: Jesu, what haste! Can you not stay awhile? Do you not see that I am out of breath?
> JULIET: How art thou out of breath when thou hast breath to say to me that thou art out of breath? The excuse that thou dost make in this delay is longer than the tale thou dost excuse: (II.5)

Shakespeare even offers a new technical term to describe breathing: 'suspiration:','Nor windy suspiration of forced breath, No, nor the fruitful river of the eye' (Hamlet, 1.2). This refers to a long deep sigh, the windy and forced component implying that the sigh is falsely generated.' It is a useful

word, but one rarely used in modern language or at all in medicine. An example is given by T. S. Eliot, who after surviving bombing in the London Blitz in his poem 'Little Gidding' (1942) muses on being destroyed by the fires of war or the fire of the Holy Spirit. The fourth stanza of the poem begins: 'The dove descending breaks the air' and ends:

> The intolerable shirt of flame.
> Which Human power cannot remove.
> We only live, only suspire
> Consumed by either fire or fire.

Some people argue that Shakespeare wrote his lines in such a way that they were best delivered with a pause after each line and a breath taken before the next line. Today this is known as Hall's pause. This idea is controversial, as this might suit the actor in delivering their lines to a rhythm, but most audiences find it a distraction.

Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) reflects the mechanistic view of breathing coming to the fore in his novel The Fair Maid of Perth: "Then I am so accustomed to the use of arms, and so well breathed, that few men can match me" said the little man, expanding his breast . . . "here is room for all the wind machinery":

The English poet and playwright John Dryden (1631-1700) used breathing to dramatize death: 'In vain: if sword and poison be denied me, I'll hold my breath and die' and 'The youth though in haste, / And breathing his last, / In pity died slowly, while she died more fast'. In the next verse a nymph persuades a young shepherd to revive himself so that she can die slowly and he more quickly, a noble act.

A book which covers many of the early twentieth-century issues concerning the discovery of industrial lung disease and thought by some to have influenced the Welsh Labour Party politician Aneurin Bevan (1897-1960) in his views on the structure of the National Health Service in the UK was The Citadel, published in 1937 by A. J. Cronin, a Scottish-born doctor-turned-novelist. It was an instant best-seller and in 1938 was made into the MGM film Citadel, starring Robert Donat and Rosalind Russell. The book follows the career of a newly qualified doctor, Andrew Manson, starting with his first job serving the coal-mining communities of the South Wales valleys as an inexperienced young doctor and ending with treating only wealthy private patients from his own practice in Central London. Apart from providing a commentary on medicine during the pre-Nils period, the book is notable because Manson is interested in pulmonary medicine. In the Welsh valleys he comes across miners with pneumoconiosis and tuberculosis. At the time coal dust was considered inert. Conducting research on the miners and later guinea pigs, he discovers the cause of the miners' lung disease, postulating that exposure to silica leads to tuberculosis. This is of course wrong: the author, Cronin, was unaware of pneumoconiosis. In the book Manson is expelled from his post in the Welsh valleys after his unlawful vivisection is discovered. In London he falls for the luxuries afforded by treating wealthy clients. He practises in the leading London Chest hospital but soon realizes that London is too foggy and polluted for TB patients. He advocates the ideas of the sanatorium in the cleaner airs of the home counties. The book closes with Dr Manson facing the General Medical Council for trying to cure TB by assisting in the deliberate creation of pneumothorax. The idea behind the treatment being that the collapsed lung would recuperate while resting and unventilated. This was a fashionable but illegal idea at the time and was later proved not to work. The doctor is cleared in the end. Cronin went on to create the 1960s television series Dr Finlay's Casebook.

Modern fiction writers show a good knowledge of the mechanism of breathing and its relationship to emotion and behaviour. An example can be found in the first chapter of Broken Ground, published by Val McDermid in 2018. It opens in 1944 in Wester Ross, Scotland, where two men are digging

pits. `The slaps of spades in dense peat was an unmistakable sound. They slipped in and out of rhythm; overlapping, separating, cascading, then coming together again, much like the men's heavy breathing: Later, one rests with his `breath tight in his chest: After a night of hard toil, their task is complete, and the chapter ends with the line: `Even as he spoke, the Mycobacterium tuberculosis organisms were creeping through his lungs, destroying tissues, carving out holes, blocking airways'. The character dies of TB, setting the scene for the story firmly set in the twenty-first century.

In Jo Nesbo's detective novel Knife (2019), the leading character, Harry Hole, is about to hear from the police unwelcome news about his partner Rakel: `Harry held his breath. He had read that it was possible to hold your breath for so long that you died. And that you don't die from too little oxygen, but from too much carbon dioxide'. When told that they have found her, he wanted to ask why and thought to himself `But to do that [I] would have to breathe: He breathed. And that means "what?", he asked. "She's dead, Harry"

Perfume: The Story of a Murderer (1985) is a tour de force of the olfactory sense, breathing and the craft of perfumery, written by the German author Patrick Süskind. The main character is Jean-Baptiste Grenouille, born in 1738, abandoned by his mother at birth, brought up by the Church and fostered by wet-nurses and childminders. Born without an odour, he soon realizes in his childhood that he has a superhuman sense of smell and can identify not only very subtle smells but the components of the odour. The book begins in Paris, a crowded and very smelly city. He starts life working for a tanner, a very smelly occupation. He secures an apprenticeship with an aged perfumer who has fallen on hard times, lacking a new perfume with which to entice his rich clients. With some scepticism from his employer, Grenouille is given access to the perfumer's collection of chemicals and scents and in a few days produces dozens of new perfumes which are so popular that they are soon produced on an industrial scale and sold all over Europe, making the perfumer a wealthy man.

The book illustrates how we take our sense of smell for granted and how we are surrounded by many familiar smells. Breathing and olfaction sets our emotions and behaviours: the invigorating smell of freshly brewed coffee in the morning, the smell of freshly baked bread stimulating hunger. Breathing the fragrance of fresh mown grass brings back memories of a summer long past. We recognize the scent of our loved ones, of babies and pets. These scents are all different, but we learn to enjoy or detest them.

After leaving Paris, Grenouille gains his credentials as a perfumer and sets off to Grasse in southern France to learn more about creating scents from flowers and plants. On his journey he invents a series of personal perfumes, which he cynically uses to influences people's opinion of him. One allows him to be the centre of attention, with everyone treating him like a celebrity; another keeps everyone away. They are scents that alter people's behaviour without the beholder noticing; something all modern scent manufacturers wish to do nowadays. Many of today's perfume- or fragrance-makers employ adverts to indicate that your attractiveness will be increased if you wear their fragrance.

On his journey south, at Montpellier, Grenouille meets the Marquis de la Taillade-Espinasse, a man influenced by the Enlightenment who has developed the idea that the earth generates a toxic gas which he calls Fluidium letale Taillade. Grenouille, who is looking rough after living in a cave for seven years, provides the marquis with a perfect example of the ill-effects of this terrestrial gas. His reasoning is that all living things move upwards away from the ground to avoid this gas. To test this theory, the marquis has invented a vital ventilation machine in his cellar, inside which Grenouille is sealed. The breathing machine is constantly ventilated with air drawn from a flue extended out of the house roof. Through an air-lock he is fed food from 'earth-removed' regions such as dove bouillon, lark pie and fruit picked from trees. The total recovery of Grenouille following this treatment proves

to the marquis that his theory was correct. With this in mind the marquis departs on an expedition to the Pic du Canigou, in the French Pyrenees, which can be snow-capped for most of the year. The Marquis believes that living at altitude will make him superhuman by being free from the evil Fludium latale, the cause of all illness. The marquis is last seen ascending the mountain. Pic du Canigou was also visited by Sir Humphry Davy in January 1814, who was so impressed by its natural form and light that it inspired him to sketch the mountain and write a poem, 'The Canigou', which alludes to the geological forces of nature.

The portrayal of breathing is significant in some films. One of the most famous film characters known for their breathing is Darth Vader from the Star Wars films. In his youth, in his former life as Anakin Skywalker, Vader is severely burned, after which he can only breath through a full-face mask (rather like a motorcycle helmet). The mask gives his slow, steady breathing a very distinctive mechanical and sinister sound. Mask breathing also features in the psychological thriller Blue Velvet (1986). Here the character Frank Booth, played by Dennis Hopper, carries two cylinders of gas, which he breathes through a mask. These allow him to change his personality, swapping between 'Daddy' and 'Baby: The original idea was that the gas was helium, and when breathed it would raise the adult voice so that the character would sound like a child. In the end the gas is more 'pharmacological' than this and may act more like amyl nitrite.

Breathing is a common motif in films, not overtly, but in a subtle way, and is common in certain genres such as horror, melodrama and pornography. Here screaming, panting and hyperventilation are used to impart mood and promote the impact of the drama. Studies have shown that in general the emphasis of breathing on-screen is off-putting for the audience and is best left under the radar of perception and cognition. Thus the sound of breathing or lack of it is a conscious omission from many films and TV programmes. As one researcher states, `no one is ever just breathing:

While smoking is often depicted in films, there are few feature films that focus on respiratory disease. A recent example is the film Breathe (2017), a biographical drama about Robin Cavendish, who while living in Kenya in 1958 caught polio at the age of 28, having just married. He became paralysed from the neck down and could only breathe with a bedside respirator. After returning to the UK he was bedridden and given only a few months to live. After the birth of his son raised his spirits, he set about improving his quality of life by improving his bedside ventilator. The film illustrates his long struggle to convince his doctors and the medical profession that his improved ventilator, when incorporated into a wheelchair, is a great advance over the iron lung then used by many doctors to keep paralysed polio patients alive. His ventilator was so mobile that it allowed him to travel abroad and live a fuller life. It is an inspiring story with a tragic ending, as eventually the many years of mechanical ventilation fatally destroyed his lungs. He died at the age of 64, one of the longest surviving responauts, as they are called.

The film Apollo 13 (1995) tells the true story of the survival of the astronauts of the NASA mission in 1970. Tragedy struck two days in as an oxygen tank exploded in the service module. Fortunately, this was not the only supply of oxygen, but the mission had to be abandoned and the astronauts returned to Earth by using a slingshot circumnavigation of the moon to propel the crew back to Earth just before their oxygen ran out and the carbon dioxide levels in the cabin became toxic. The astronauts all returned safely to breathe another day. Last Breath (2019), a remarkable film in documentary style, details the true story of a deep-sea diver who while repairing an oil installation on the bottom of the North Sea is suddenly left without an oxygen supply. On the surface the support ship loses its position over the divers owing to a stormy sea, and the umbilical cord connected to the diver via a diving bell lowered from the ship and providing him with heat, air and power becomes tangled around an underwater installation and snaps. The diver is left with a small

rescue tank carried for such emergencies that only contains 5 minutes of air. With the ship moving, the refuge of the diving bell also moves away, leaving the diver alone on the bottom of the North Sea. The sea is so rough that the crew struggle to return the ship to its original position, eventually taking around 3o minutes. When the ship's main cameras refocus on the diver, he is lying motionless on top of the structure. His diving buddy, who had made it safely back to the diving bell before the ship had lost position, was tasked with recovering the body and bringing it back to the diving bell. Once inside the diving bell, the recovered diver is given mouth-to-mouth resuscitation, and to everyone's surprise he instantly comes back to life. After a few months, the diver recovered completely. It is thought that he survived so long without oxygen as his body was cooled and supersaturated with oxygen: he had spent a long time in a hyperbaric chamber before the dive.

The film The Aeronauts (2019) is a biographical adventure film about two balloonists, a scientist and a professional balloonist (based on Sophie Blanchard, the wife of the balloonist Jean-Pierre Blanchard) in the 1800s who attempt to explore the upper atmosphere, with disastrous consequences.

The English Language is rich with phrases involving the act of breathing, both mechanically and sensually. Literature has used this rich source to express and emphasize the drama and pathos of many works, from ancient times, through Shakespeare, to modern times. It is through the depiction of disaster, disease and adversity that we are told the consequences of not being able to breathe. In literature the boundary between life and death is often signified by the presence or absence of breathing and it is in the final chapter that we explore how we make one final great gesture before we pass away: our last breath. <>

Arcana X: Musicians on Music, Preface by John Zorn. [Hips Road/Tzadik, 978097883718]

The final installment of John Zorn's major series of new music theory, with Oren Ambarchi, Peter Blegvad, Annea Lockwood, Henry Threadgill and many more Initiated in 1997 and now in its tenth and final installment, John Zorn's acclaimed *Arcana* series is a major source of new music theory and practice in the 21st century. Illuminating directly via the personal vision and experience of the practitioners themselves, who experience music not from a cool, safe distance, but from the white-hot center of the creative crucible itself, *Arcana* elucidates through essays, manifestos, scores, interviews, notebooks and critical papers.

Over 25 years the ten volumes of *Arcana* have presented the writings of over 300 of the most extraordinary musical thinkers of our time, who address composing, performing, improvising, touring, collaborating, living and thinking about music from diverse, refreshing and often surprising perspectives. Technical, philosophical, political, artistic and mystical in nature, these writings provide direct connections to the creative processes and hidden stratagems of musicians from the worlds of classical, rock, jazz, film soundtrack, improvised music and more.

Contributors include: Susan Alcorn, Oren Ambarchi, Ran Blake, Peter Blegvad, Tyondai Braxton, Patricia Brennan, John Butcher, Ben Coniguliaro, Amir Elsaffar, Kenny Grohowski, Tom Guralnick, Mark Helias, David Hertzberg, Stefan Jackiw, Dan Kaufman, Derek Keller, Richard Kessler, Pauline Kim, Ulrich Krieger, Hannah Lash, Dan Lippel, Annea Lockwood, Dave Lombardo, Charlie Looker, Thomas Morgan, Stephen O'Malley, Laura Ortman, Alex Paxton, Alexandria Smith, Conrad Tao, Pat Thomas, Henry Threadgill, Anna Webber, Fay Victor, Christian Wolff and Miguel Zenon.

CONTENTS

Excerpt:

The Arcana Series: Principio et Finem Similia

The idea of publishing an anthology of writings by musicians about music came to me around 1991. My original intention, set forth manifesto-style in the prefaces to the first several volumes of Arcana, was to correct what seemed a bitter injustice — an unfortunate lack of intelligent and insightful writing about a community of musicians that, for well over a decade, had been forging a music that was imaginative, well-crafted, honest, cathartic, and, in many ways, important. It was a mission that was taken on very much out of necessity — the music had been misunderstood, misrepresented, misjudged and marginalized for years. Few could have predicted that the project would continue for the next twenty-five years, broaden to address a vast assortment of musical styles and scenes, and expand to ten volumes filled with over 320 essays by an assembly of musical minds spanning three generations.

Organizing the first volume of Arcana was a Herculean effort — it took six years to collate, edit, design and publish the thing. The obstacles involved ranged from the musicians' initial suspicion, cynicism, procrastination, bitterness and insecurity to issues with editing, design, printing and distribution. Back then, connecting with people was not quite as easy as it is today, but while logistical problems certainly played a large role in the unusually long production time, the most formidable obstacle was the musician's inherent reticence in committing their thoughts to paper. A musician's major mode of expression is, after all, essentially non-verbal. When discussing music, words often fail us, and so it was exceedingly difficult to get the prospective contributors to respond, no less to complete and deliver their essays.

As the importance and reputation of the project solidified, however, publishing each successive volume became appreciably easier. Six years shrank to three, to two, and finally to less than a year — a remarkably brief period for a project of such scope. The writings in this final installment of Arcana were commissioned in the throes of the pandemic lockdown, and so afforded the authors an unexpected abundance of free time with which to complete their entry. The articles were submitted in record time, and results are, not surprisingly, outstanding. Arcana X is a spectacular apotheosis to the series, and boasts the most diverse group of musicians out of all the ten volumes.

My initial inspiration for Arcana was a book I bought in 1968 at the legendary music store Patelson's, which was located on 56th Street near 7th Avenue, just behind Carnegie Hall. Edited by Elliott Schwartz and Barney Childs, Contemporary Composers on Contemporary Music was a stimulating compilation of penetrating and passionate writings by musicians ranging from Busoni, Ives, and Stravinsky to Cage, Carter, and Partch. There was much to learn from this collection, but even to the eyes of a young aspiring composer (I was 15 at the time) it was immediately apparent that many major figures were conspicuously absent!

Any project of this type will inevitably suffer from glaring omissions, and Arcana (despite its voluminous ten volumes and 300+ contributors) is no exception. Some musicians were asked multiple times but, for a variety of reasons, were never able to deliver; many simply declined; several never responded at all; then there were those who were regrettably overlooked. But much has changed in the past thirty years and thanks to the large coterie of musicians who have dedicated so much of their precious time in educating the younger generations in the history, practice and critical theory of the Downtown scene (George Lewis, Fred Frith, Mark Dresser, Nicole Mitchell, Anthony Coleman, Tyshawn Sorey, Alvin Curran, Kris Davis, Myra Melford, Anthony Braxton, Eyvind Kang, Wadada Leo Smith, and Marty Ehrlich are just a few who come to mind) interesting and insightful writing on new and creative music has flourished, with much of it easily accessible online.

It is now abundantly clear that a vibrant new music exists that transcends traditional boundaries and formal definitions (jazz, rock, classical, film soundtrack, folk, bluegrass) while simultaneously drawing

upon them to varying degrees with imagination, respect, and integrity. Such music defies reductionist commodification, sets its own standards, and demands to be judged on its own terms. It's unreliable to discuss new music using old tools. If forced, you may succeed in fitting an oddly shaped peg into a square hole, but it is ultimately counterproductive, misleading, destructive, and can lead to disastrous confusions and misunderstandings. Although difficult and time consuming, it is infinitely more effective to cut a new hole to accommodate the exact shape of each uniquely individual peg. One can only hope that this will become the standard approach to music analysis and criticism in the new millennium.

By definition the critical establishment will always lag behind the creator — academics teach music history while musicians are out there making it — and even now, after many decades of musical exploration and creativity, incomprehension and misinterpretations abound. But despite lazy assumptions, antiquated rationale, and outdated theories, on the whole today's analytic landscape is more open and diverse, more adventurous and inclusive than ever before. Tradition is not a dead past — it is a living, breathing entity existing very much in the present. Neither doctrine nor dogma, tradition is perhaps best described as a community of spirits. Let us look positively and enthusiastically towards a world where difficult and challenging music that "falls between the gaps" can be heard with a clear perspective, an informed ear, and an open mind — a world where such music can be accepted and respected for being what it is, rather than derided and denigrated for what it is not. In short, where new musical directions are found to be stimulating, and viewed with excitement, rather than threatening, and treated with a mixture of suspicion, disdain and contempt.

With the meeting of Jupiter and Saturn in December 2020 we find ourselves confronted with a Great Conjunction and the birth of a new astrological epoch. We leave behind an Earth Wave, a tumultuous era defined largely by materialism, greed, Empire-building, and a capitalist sense of ownership —and enter an Air Wave, heralding a Global Renaissance, one that bodes well for the avant garde, for spirituality, philosophy, culture, technological advancement, the concept of community, and vast mobility. What we need is a total reset: a veritable redistribution of power itself. 2021 is a new beginning. Hopefully this coming era will help guide us towards a more sustainable world of greater peace, economic fairness, climate awareness and increasing equality, cooperation, openness and gratitude — a transition from hierarchical, vertically-based power structures to more horizontally oriented, flat organizations demanding greater responsibility and accountability for all involved. —John Zorn, NYC January 2, 2021 <>

Jacopo Strada and Cultural Patronage at the Imperial Court (2 Vols.) The Antique as Innovation by Dirk Jacob Jansen [Series: Rulers & Elites, Brill, 9789004355262]

In **Jacopo Strada and Cultural Patronage at the Imperial Court: Antiquity as Innovation,** Dirk Jansen provides a survey of the life and career of the antiquary, architect, and courtier Jacopo Strada (Mantua 1515–Vienna 1588). His manifold activities — also as a publisher and as an agent and artistic and scholarly advisor of powerful patrons such as Hans Jakob Fugger, the Duke of Bavaria and the Emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II — are examined in detail, and studied within the context of the cosmopolitan learned and courtly environments in which he moved. These volumes offer a substantial reassessment of Strada's importance as an agent of change, transmitting the ideas and artistic language of the Italian Renaissance to the North.

CONTENTS

The Image—Or from Whom (Not?) to Buy a Second-Hand Car The Portraits of Jacopo and Ottavio Strada

In the summer of 2008 the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam mounted a small exhibit showing Tintoretto's portrait of Ottavio Strada da Rosberg, antiquary to the Emperor Rudolf ii, from its own collection [Fig. 0.2], next to Titian's famous portrait of Jacopo Strada, Ottavio's father and predecessor as antiquary to the Emperors Ferdinand I, Maximilian II and Rudolf II, which had been sent on loan by the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna for the occasion [Fig. 0.1]. An occasion of some moment because it was the first time for at least three hundred and fifty years that these two portraits, which had been painted simultaneously in Venice in 1567–1568, could be seen side by side.

FiGURE 0.1 Tiziano Vecellio, Portrait of Jacopo Strada, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

FiGURE 0.2 Jacopo Tintoretto, Portrait of Ottavio Strada da Rosberg, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Titian's portrait of Jacopo Strada has always been well known, having entered the Imperial collections already by the middle of the seventeenth century, when it is listed in an inventory of the picture collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria, governor of the Southern Netherlands. It is shown in David Teniers' painting showing the Archduke paying a visit to his picture gallery in Brussels [Fig. 0.3 and detail]. Its attraction is attested by the inclusion of a reproduction engraved by Lucas Vorsterman the Younger in Teniers' *Theatrum artis pictoriae*, basically an illustrated inventory of the Archduke's collection printed in Brussels in 1660 [Fig. 0.5], and by a copy in oils from the late seventeenth century, which is attributed to Pietro della Vecchia [Fig. 0.4].

FIGURE 0.3 David Teniers the Younger, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm Visiting his Picture Gallery in Brussels, ca 1651, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. The portrait of Jacopo Strada can be seen top left near the window (detail), next to Titian's portrait of Fabrizio Salvaresi of 1558, which is likewise still preserved in the Kunsthistorisch-es Museum.

The *Jacopo Strada* was probably Titian's very last portrait and is, for its iconography, an exceptional work within his oeuvre: as such it has often been studied and discussed. Tintoretto's portrait of

Ottavio Strada, on the other hand, was virtually unknown until it entered the Rijksmuseum in 1956. It had earlier belonged to the Duke of Marlborough, who in turn had acquired it in the second half of the nineteenth century in France, perhaps directly from Robert, Marquis de Strada d'Arosberg, the lineal descendant of both sitters, who had an English wife. In the Marlborough collection the Tintoretto was accessible only to a restricted audience. In the Rijksmuseum, which concentrates primarily on Dutch painting, though more easily accessible, it has perhaps received less attention than it might have in the Louvre or the National Gallery, and certainly much less than it deserves. It is satisfying that this relative neglect has been splendidly redressed by the felicitous cleaning and restoration of the Tintoretto, and by the temporary reunion of the two portraits first in the Rijksmuseum, and then in the exhibition on Venetian Painting of the sixteenth century at the Louvre.

FIGURE 0.4 Attributed to Pietro della Vecchia, after Titian, Portrait of Jacopo Strada; present location unknown.

FIGURE 0.5 Lucas Vorsterman the Younger, engraving after Titian, Portrait of Jacopo Strada, from Theatrum artis pictoriae, Brussels 1660.

Though the present study attempts to show that Jacopo Strada is a sufficiently interesting personality to warrant some attention in his own right, there is little doubt that his chief claim to fame remains the portrait—a fact of which he himself may have been very well aware. Certainly his later reputation has been coloured by the image projected by Titian's masterpiece. A summary of its reception and of the image of Strada's personality it helped foster is a convenient point of departure for the fuller discussion of his career which is the subject of this book.

Why are These Portraits so Special?

Certainly Titian's and Tintoretto's portraits of the two Stradas merit a discussion in themselves: they are both splendid paintings, the work of two of the greatest painters of the Italian Renaissance. They are painters, moreover, who count among the founders of the portrait genre, and who had a tremendous influence on its later development, especially on Rubens and Van Dyck. But though that makes these paintings valuable and worthwhile as works of art, their unique significance for the history of art derives from a number of aspects that distinguish them from many other Renaissance portraits:

– The first of these is that both paintings have an exceptional place within the oeuvres of their respective painters, especially the Titian.

- At least equally important is the context in which the paintings were commissioned, which is much better known than is usual: whereas so many of the portraits of private citizens of the period are anonymous, here the identity of the sitters is undisputed. In fact we know quite a lot about them, and in particular about their activities at the time the portraits were painted.
- This context is also unusual in itself: except for portraits of married couples, it is quite exceptional to have two portraits painted in conjunction, as was the case here; that they were painted simultaneously by two more or less competing rivals is probably without parallel.

Finally, for both art-historians and art dealers the portraits are of particular interest, because the two sitters are in some way early examples of their own profession. Both Stradas presented themselves formally as 'antiquarius'. In English this can be translated either as 'antiquary'—that is someone studying the material remains of Antiquity, whom we would call an archaeologist or historian—or as 'antiquarian', an expert and dealer in art and antiques. In this study I hope to show that both terms are appropriate for the Stradas.

Motions of the Mind

The portrait of Jacopo Strada certainly occupies an exceptional place within Titian's oeuvre: it is one of the last—probably the very last—portrait he ever painted, and he had really stopped accepting portrait commissions much earlier. Compared with his earlier portraits, its formal qualities are unusual: whereas in general Titian's sitters maintain a quiet, dignified attitude against the habitual neutral or landscape background, here the protagonist is placed in a localized inner space, in a diagonal movement across the plane of the painting, actively inviting the observer to participate. The painting is moreover atypically crowded with attributes. So it is not surprising that the portrait has been often discussed in detail, mostly within the context of Titian's late style.

A principal reason why Titian's portrait of Jacopo Strada has received so much critical attention is that it is often considered as a prime example of Titian's gift of psychological penetration. In his book Portraits of the Renaissance John Pope-Hennessy discusses it as such in a chapter entitled 'The Motions of the Mind', a title he borrowed from one of Leonardo da Vinci's notebooks. He discusses the Strada portrait in prose sufficiently magnificent to be quoted in full:

> To judge from the paintings he produced, Titian was gifted with a godlike view of the potentials of character and mind against which the individual before him was sized up. On only one occasion is his private reaction to a sitter set down in print. The victim was Jacopo Strada, a dealer in antiques, who was born at Mantua, allied himself with the Fuggers of Augsburg, joined the court of the Emperor Maximilian II, and in 1567 visited Venice in search of antiques for Albert, Duke of Bavaria.
> Titian, who had known him for some years, viewed him with unfeigned dislike. A pretentious humbug, he called him, one of the most solemn ignoramuses that you could find. His success, Titian declared, was due to a capacity for flattery, and to the 'tante carotte' he had held out to the Germans, who were too dense to realize his incompetence and his duplicity. In the painting Strada is shown bending obsequiously across a table, holding a marble statuette which he is displaying deferentially to some patron on the right. The significance of this motif would have been even more apparent than it is today when the picture was still free of the pompous cartouche in the upper right-hand corner which was added at Strada's own request.
> The fur and sleeve are some of the most splendid passages in any Titian portrait <...> but the features contrast with the splendour of dress; they are petty, and are stamped with guile and a particularly unattractive sort of eagerness. And there is no reason to suppose that the effect was anything but calculated.

'To judge from the paintings he produced, Titian was gifted with a godlike view of the potentials of character and mind against which the individual before him was sized up'. This idea that a good

portrait painter is able to fathom the deeper psychology, perhaps even the subconscious of his sitter, I find a highly fascinating, but also a very questionable assumption. I have tried to test this assumption many years ago, when I gave a talk on the Strada portrait to a class of second-year students of art-history at Leiden University. Before I had told them anything at all about the sitter, I asked the students to write down what they thought his character would have been like, just by looking at his portrait. I had given them a hand-out with the following three questions:

- What do you think about the social status of the person depicted in this portrait, and do you have any idea what might be his profession?
- Do you think that it is possible on the basis of this portrait to determine specific traits of character of the sitter, both positive and negative, and if so, which ones? (e.g. was he generous or grasping, smart or stupid, truthful or devious, corrupt or honest, and so on).
- Do you think the portrait provides any indication about the personal relationship between the sitter and the artist?

In the interval of the lecture I totted up the response of the fourteen students, and we discussed its outcome, which was quite interesting. It certainly corresponded but little with Pope-Hennessy's reading of the portrait. As could be expected, all respondents thought the painting portrayed someone of high social status, which is an obvious purpose of this, as it is of the majority of formal portraits. More interesting was the response to the second question: only two respondents did not think it possible to conclude anything about the character of the sitter from a painting such as this. In the light of PopeHennessy's negative judgment, it is more surprising that only one respondent expressed a similar negative view. The other twelve respondents all felt that the painting intended to convey a positive image of the sitter, defining his character in terms such as 'open-minded', 'a dry sense of humour', 'smart', 'strict but just', 'ambitious, dynamic, noble', 'energetic', 'cheerful', 'resolute, knows what he wants', 'observant', 'loves beautiful things', 'self-assured, vain, but not excessively conceited', 'well-educated', 'reads a lot, erudite'.

The response to the last question was rather evenly divided: about one half of the students thought that there was no particularly close relationship between painter and sitter, i.e. they considered Titian's attitude to be a purely professional one; some of them even found the portrait rather impersonal; while the others did presuppose some sort of personal relationship between painter and model, as close acquaintances or colleagues or as friends, one of them even presupposing that the painter admired his model. Only one respondent thought Titian might not really have liked his 'pretentious, showy' sitter.

Obviously this test was not intended as serious research into the reception of sixteenth-century portraiture, but I do think it shows how easily one s tempted to draw objective conclusions from subjective impressions: a legitimate procedure as long as one is an art-lover appreciating a great work of art—as is the case of Pope-Hennessy's wonderful book—but inadmissible in a context of historical research. My own hypothesis is that, though good portraitists certainly do in fact manage to convey a psychologically convincing image of the character of their sitter, it does not necessarily follow that—however convincing—it is either true or just. In any case the interpretation of that character remains very much in the eye of the beholder.

My own personal—and therefore subjective—impression is that in his Strada portrait Titian was far less interested in the deeper internal 'motions of the mind' of his sitter than he had been when he painted, for instance, *The Man with the Glove*, the *Young Englishman* of the Galleria Palatina, or his two 1548 portraits of Charles v. Certainly I think that Pope-Hennessy's reading was equally subjective: Titian's repugnance of his sitter Pope-Hennessy *thought* he saw reflected in the painting was merely the projection of his own patrician dislike for the upstart tradesman he imagined Strada to be on the basis of the documentary evidence he quotes.

FIGURE 0.6 Titian, *Portrait of Jacopo Strada*, detail of fig 0.1.

His source is the correspondence of Niccolò Stopio, a neo-Latin poet resident in Venice at the time, and—like Strada—engaged in the trade of art and antiques. Excerpts of Stopio's correspondence, which is preserved in the Bavarian State Archives in Munich, had been published already in 1874 by Jacob Stockbauer in a study of the artistic patronage of Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria, patron of both Strada and Stopio. Four years later it entered the Titian bibliography through the use made of Stopio's correspondence in Crowe and Cavalcaselle's huge monograph on the painter, first printed in Florence 1877–78.5 Stopio's original correspondence was sent on loan to Vienna to be used by Heinrich Zimmermann, who was preparing a biography of Strada which has never appeared. He did, however, write a carefully considered article on the exact dating of the portrait, in which Stopio's letters are likewise quoted extensively. But these letters led neither Crowe and Cavalcaselle nor Zimmermann to negative conclusions similar to those of Pope-Hennessy's. These were closely echoed, on the other hand, by a more recent discussion of the portrait by Augusto Gentili, under the heading 'Compreresteun'auto usato da quest'uomo?' This led a reviewer to characterize Strada more or less as the sixteenth-century equivalent of a mafia boss: 'In Titian's portraits it is not always the fine coat that makes the fine gentleman, and Jacopo Strada's very 'chic' air does not mask his greedy eyes, which certainly do not make one eager 'to buy a used car from the man'; conveniently forgetting that mafiosi of our own time rarely have their likeness taken by the greatest living portrait-painter.

This interpretation of Strada's character, based on an uncritical acceptance of Stopio's letters, does not do justice to Strada, and moreover throws no light on Titian's decision to paint his portrait, and to paint it in this way. In my examination of Strada's career I will have occasion for a close reading of Stopio's reports, placing them within the context in which they were written. This will, I hope, provide a more balanced view of Jacopo Strada's true character and of his relationship with Titian.

What is Known About Strada: Early Notices

When setting out on my research into the man behind the portrait, forty years ago, I soon found out that the Titian portrait is indeed Strada's major claim to fame. His existence apart from it received little attention before the second half of the twentieth century; and if so, it was mostly in the form of brief notices throwing light on a specific aspect of his various activities. Yet, though the portrait was accessible through Vorsterman's engraving, the very earliest references on Strada rarely—if ever—refer to it.8 These entries were written by antiquarian scholars who used Strada's books, or by archivists and librarians who in their collection stumbled upon a manuscript by or a document relating to Strada that happened to interest them.

Numismatics

Strada's numismatic work was his principal contribution to the Republic of Letters, and it is mostly as a numismatist that he is referred to in the learned products of the Republic of Letters of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The earliest mentions are mostly bibliographical references to his printed books included in numismatic treatises, such as Antoine Le Pois' Discours sur les medalles et graveures antiques and a new, much expanded edition of Conrad Gesner's universal bibliography edited by two Zürich scholars, Josias Simler and Johannes Jacobus Frisius.9 Adolf Occo, another and better known numismatist of these years, does not refer to Strada's printed books in his own treatise, but he did comment on Strada's drawings in a letter to his learned colleague Basilius Amerbach the Younger. Occo had admired the richly bound volumes of numismatic drawings that Strada had provided to Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria, and reports the fabulous price of a ducat that Strada was paid for each of these splendid drawings. Though Occo is sceptical about the veracity of many of the drawings, he yet deems it a precious treasure, truly befitting a prince.

Strada had made the huge folio volumes of numismatic drawings commended by Occo for the Emperors Ferdinand i and Maximilian ii—these were preserved in the Imperial library in Vienna—and for Hans Jakob Fugger and Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria: these later ended up as spoils of war in the library of Duke Ernest the Pious of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg at Gotha. In both places they excited the interest of the officials locally responsible, such as the learned statesman Veit Ludwig von Seckendorf. Appointed librarian at Gotha in 1654, when he was hardly twenty years old, he had meanwhile been promoted to Privy Councillor of the Duchy. In a letter to Johann Andreas Bosius of 5 December 1657 he gave a summary description of Strada's volumes, of which the Duke had given him the first three to study, and added some critical notes on their contents. This letter became publicly known only in 1714, when it was transcribed in its entirety in the catalogue entry for the Strada manuscripts in Ernst Salomon Cyprian's Catalogus Codicum manuscriptum Bibliothecae Gothanae, together with a full transcription of Strada's preface annexed to one of the Gotha volumes.

The related volumes of Strada's numismatic drawings preserved in the Imperial Library in Vienna were of easier access than those in Gotha. In his travel diary Charles Patin [Fig. 0.9] relates how he once had been received by Emperor Leopold i [Fig. 0.7], who had allowed him free access to the Imperial Library where, among its inexhaustible treasures, he had particularly admired Jacopo and Ottavio's numismatic drawings: 'I went through the incomparable drawings of I. Strada, which one cannot see without becoming both more inquisitive and more learned'.

Patin's guide was Peter Lambeck, the Imperial librarian [Fig. 0.8], whose interest in the Strada manuscripts may have been stimulated by Patin's enthusiasm. Indirectly this interest was influenced by the Emperor himself: intrigued by the gift of a copy of Patin's new Paris edition of Fulvio Orsini and Antonio Agustín's De familiis Romanis, which was largely based on numismatic evidence, Leopold asked Lambeck to inspect the Imperial coin collection. The result of this was that

numismatic material looms large in the huge volumes Lambeck dedicated to the history and holdings of the Imperial Library, his Commentariorum de augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi, the first volume of which was published in 1665.

Chief among the works described were 'two volumes of manuscript in folio of the greatest value <...> exclusively dedicated to the Consular coins, drawn with incredible study and elegance from the originals, and that were presented to Emperor Ferdinand i by the most famous Imperial antiquary, Jacopo Strada from Mantua'. Lambeck not merely praised the detailed drawings contained in these volumes, but repeatedly referred to them in his learned arguments and also included several large engravings directly derived from them. The first of these is a consular coin and its reverse attributed to C. Petilius [Fig. 0.10]: in his comment on this coin Lambeck gives a brief survey of all of Strada's numismatic manuscripts among the Vienna holdings. Elsewhere he illustrates a coin attributed to P. Papirius Carbonus and a coin of Livia with engravings derived from Strada's drawings, and uses other ones to discuss the place of the cult of Vesta in Roman Antiquity.

Most interesting is his use of Strada's drawing of a Hadrianic coin dedicated to Antinous [Fig. 0.11] and of Strada's description of it, which he transcribed in extenso, in an attempt to interpret the most important antique find in the Austrian Erblande ever, the famous bronze ephebe that in 1502 was excavated at the Helenenberg near Klagenfurt (now confusingly known as the 'Jüngling vom Magdalensberg') [Fig. 0.12].

Lambeck, who was in a position to work with Strada's original drawings, liked them so much that he did not really question their reliability as archaeological documentation, and though Patin was more cautious, he likewise took Strada's labours seriously. Though Strada's volumes would remain objects of interest to Grand Tourists, such as James Boswell, their attraction for professional scholars soon was to fade.

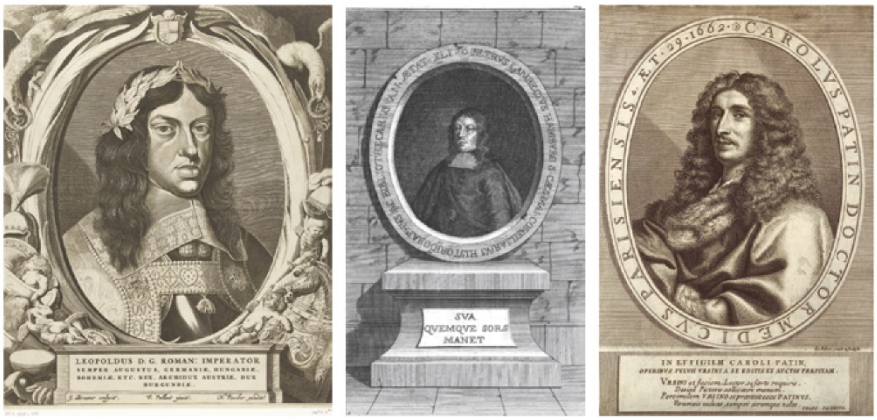


FIGURE 0.7 Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705), engraving by Jan Brouwer after Wallerant Vaillant.

FIGURE 0.8 Peter Lambeck (1628–1680), the Imperial librarian, engraving from his Commentariorum de augustissima bibliotheca ceasarea Vindobonensis, 2nd ed., 1, Vienna 1766.

FIGURE 0.9 The French physician and scholar Charles Patin (1633–1693), engraving by C. Le Febure.

FIGURE 0.10 Engraving after a numismatic drawing by Jacopo Strada, in Lambeck's Commentariorum de Augustussima Bibliotheca Caesarea, I (1665).

FIGURE 0.11 Engraving after a numismatic drawing by Jacopo Strada, in Lambeck's *Commentariorum de Augustussima Bibliotheca Caesarea*, II (1669).

FIGURE 0.12 The 'Jüngling vom Magdalensberg', a lost bronze statue excavated near Klagenfurt in 1502, engraving in Lambeck's *Commentariorum de Augustussima Bibliotheca Caesarea*, II (1669).

Works of Reference

Lambeck's, Patin's and Cyprian's publications assured Strada a place in many antiquarian reference works appearing during the eighteenth century, such as Johann Albert Fabricius' *Bibliographia antiquaria*, a bibliography of modern studies into Hebrew, Greek, Roman and (Early) Christian antiquities that was first published in Hamburg in 1713, and in Fabricius' edition of Anselmo Banduri's *Bibliotheca Nummaria* of 1719, who also refers to the manuscript volumes in Vienna, but already notes that these works, though in the past they had been highly esteemed, could now be little recommended for serious use. Strada's works also figure occasionally in dictionaries and bibliographies specializing in other fields, such as Johann Huebner's Bibliotheca genealogica (Hamburg 1729). Both Strada's edition of the Settimo Libro of Serlio's architectural treatise and the edition of his own technical drawings posthumously published by his grandson are included in the Kurzer

Unterricht von den vornehmsten mathematischen Schriften, a bibliography of mathematical writings in the widest sense included as an appendix to Christian Wolff's Die Anfangsgründe aller mathematischen Wissenschaften.18 Strada's merit as a numismatic draughtsman, as shown in the prints in Lambeck's catalogue, also gained him entries in some of the earliest art-dictionaries, such as the Dictionnaire abrégé de peinture et d'architecture by François-Marie de Marsy, published in Paris in 1746, and in Rudolf Füssli's better known Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon of 1763.

As a consequence of these entries Strada was included in many of the general biographical dictionaries and historical encyclopaedias published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The entries are mostly succinct summaries of Strada's bibliography, based on notes taken from library catalogues and the earlier publications cited above. All that was known of Strada was based on the two publications of original material, i.e. the drawings engraved in Lambeck's catalogue of the Imperial Library and the preface to Strada's Series Imperatorum in Cyprian's catalogue of the holdings of the Ducal library at Gotha. Only in the nineteenth century the information offered in such entries slowly shifted from the merely bibliographical to the summarily biographical. Their authors began to include details about Strada's life taken from an obvious source that had always been available, but had rarely or never been used: the prefaces and dedications of the books he had published. Thus the entry on Strada in the Biografia Universale of 1829 contains the characteristic phrase: 'He also gave the example of trading in works of art and of enriching strangers at the expense of Italy', which the slightly later Nouvelle biographie générale renders as 'It was on behalf of Germany that he despoiled Italy <...>'. Both passages closely echo Strada's own account of his acquisition of large quantities of antiquities in Venice, on behalf of Hans Jakob Fugger and Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, 'which I myself, with great effort and at great expense, divesting Italy of its most noble spoils, had brought to Augsburg'. In the otherwise identical Italian version of the dictionary, Domenico de Angelis, the (Italian) author of this entry, takes Strada sternly to task for this unpatriotic behaviour: 'He also gave the example, fatal to his fatherland, of trading <'traficare'> in works of the fine arts, thus enriching the foreigners to the injury of his Italy'. Is this ominous word 'traficare' the first intimation of Pope-Hennessy's abject, commercial 'dealer in antiques'?

Quellenkunde: Some Sources Published in the Nineteenth Century

Only in the nineteenth century, when the growing interest in regional and national history and culture caused local authors and antiquaries to delve deeper into the holdings of their libraries and to explore the local archives, further new source material on Strada was unearthed and published. The first instance is provided by the prince of eighteenth-century Italian erudites, Girolamo Tiraboschi, whose Storia della letteratura Italiana of 1772–1778, a prime example of cultural history in the wider sense, foreshadows the Romantic interest in the contribution of the individual intellectual, artist or patron to literature and the arts. He complemented a brief mention of Jacopo Strada with the transcription of a letter by Ottavio Strada to the Duke of Ferrara about his father's heritage, a letter Tiraboschi had found in the Archivio Estense. Naturally interest in Strada was strongest in his hometown, Mantua, where brief entries on his career were included in works studying the history of Mantua and revaluating its local cultural heroes. More valuable contributions were due to the two first serious students of the Gonzaga archives, Count Carlo d'Arco (1799–1872) and Stefano Davari (1835–1909). Carlo d'Arco's Delle famiglie mantovani, a compendium of historical and genealogical notes on Mantua, included a detailed genealogy of the Strada family. He moreover devoted a brief notice to Jacopo in his Delle arti e degli artefici di Mantova of 1857. At about the same time, in his Lettere artistiche inedite, another aristocratic amateur of history and the arts, marchese Giuseppe Campori (1821–1887), published a letter from the Modena archives documenting Strada's connection with a cadet branch of the Gonzaga.26 Similar research in archival sources uncovered a completely new aspect of Strada's personality, his religious heterodoxy, presented in passing by the founding genius of the Mantuan State archives as a first-class historical

research institution, Stefano Davari, in his chilling notes on the persecutions by the Inquisition in Mantua in the second half of the sixteenth century. Davari was also the first to publish and discuss Strada's description of the Palazzo del Te, a prime document for the history and the interpretation of that monument.

In Austria, Strada's homeland by adoption, the increasing interest in such primary archival sources, which accompanied new approaches and methods in historiography, was reflected in Johann Evangelist Schlager's Materialien zur österreichischen Kunstgeschichte, the fifth volume (1850) in the Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen, published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences. This is a useful but rather unsystematic summing up of facts gleaned from archival and printed sources, covering a period from the mid-sixteenth up to the mid-eighteenth century. Unfortunately references are only sketchily indicated, and the wording is Schlager's own. Thus his influential statement that Strada in 1566 would have been appointed 'Aufseher', supervisor of curator, of the Imperial Kunstkammer cannot be corroborated in the sources known at present: it is probable that it is in fact Schlager's own interpretation of the title 'Antiquarius', which is used in the act he presumably cites. Standards of selection, transcription and interpretation of archival sources quickly improved, however. The most important results of this process soon found their way into a series of appendices to the Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, which began to be published in 1883, together with the Jahrbuch itself. These appendices presented a large quantity of impeccably edited sources relevant to the history of art in the Habsburg lands. The intelligent selection of materials was primarily intended to help establish the attributions, the provenance and the patronage situation of the works of art in the collections of the Austrian Emperors, i.e. basically what is now the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. But it is obvious that it was also intended to provide the documentary basis for a more general history of the visual arts of the Habsburg Empire, including architecture, the applied arts and archaeology, with particular emphasis on the laudable role of the Habsburgs as generous and discerning patrons. The documents published here first gave some substance to Strada's role as antiquary to the Holy Roman Emperor. Until then nothing more was known about this role except the title he added to his name on the front page of the books he published and had inserted in the cartouche he had painted on his portrait. These documents—often simple records of the payment of his salary and his travel expenses, sometimes more informative documents such as letters or reports—do at least tell us when and how Strada came to the Imperial court and when and why he resigned, and provide us with some inkling of the type of activities in which he was employed.

In Vienna the interest in Strada was perhaps stimulated by the discovery of a volume of drawings by Ottavio Strada in the library of Count DietrichsteinMensdorff, which contained elaborate designs for goldsmith's work. These splendid drawings made a great impression: this was after all the period of the Great Exhibition, the foundation of the Victoria and Albert Museum and countless other museums and vocational schools for the applied arts. To stimulate and inspire contemporary designers and craftsmen the Vienna Museum für Kunst und Industrie reproduced the eighty-two drawings in a beautiful facsimile edition which came out in 1869. Strada's affinity with the goldsmith's art, and in particular his close connections with the leading German goldsmith of his time, Wenzel Jamnitzer, were demonstrated by documents published in the Jahrbuch der Sammlungen, and discussed in David von Schönherr's article on Jamnitzer's work for Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol. Additional information was printed in Hampe's publication of the decisions of the Nuremberg City Council, published in 1904.

The information from sources of the Imperial court was complemented by research done in the archives of the other principal patron for whom Strada had worked, Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria. Though in Munich no similar programme to publish source material existed, in the Bavarian archives much of the material relating to the collections and other cultural activities of the Wit-telsbach

princes had always been preserved in separate files. These so-called Libri antiquitatum were examined and summarized in Stockbauer's extensive study on the artistic patronage of Duke Albrecht v of 1874. Though sometimes mistaken or lacking in precision, Stockbauer was the first to show Strada's role in the conception of the Antiquarium of the Munich Residenz and in the acquisition of ancient and contemporary works of art on behalf of Duke Albrecht v. Because so much of its information related to acquisitions in Italy, the book was also of interest to students of Italian art and history. Thus within a few years Crowe and Cavalcaselle came to use it for their ground-breaking monograph on Titian—including the information on the painting of Strada's portrait. Though later detailed studies corrected and enlarged upon various aspects of Stockbauer's study, for a long time it remained the only comprehensive discussion of patronage and collecting at the Munich court in the sixteenth century. It is therefore not surprising that even in the 1960s it still proved to be Pope-Hennessy's source on Strada's activities and character. Nevertheless, even here Strada was presented as only one among a welter of figures—artists, craftsmen, learned advisors, merchants, courtiers and councillors, princely competitors—who assisted or obstructed the Duke in his cultural ambitions. And this holds for most of the later studies in which Strada figures: in general he occupies a similar marginal place, and his activities are discussed only in as far as they are relevant for the main topic of the specific publication.

Kulturgeschichte before World War II

This is even true of the one article of which Strada himself—or rather his portrait—is the principal theme, 'Zur richtigen Datirung eines Portraits von Tizian' of 1901 by Heinrich Zimmermann, a historian and archivist who earlier had contributed to the source publications in the Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen. In this thoughtful re-examination of Stockbauer's sources (the originals of which had been sent to Vienna for him to consult) in the light of other archival material that had meanwhile become available, or he had found himself in the Vienna archives, Zimmermann carefully reconstructs Strada's travels to Venice on behalf of Duke Albrecht v of Bavaria, but only with the aim of assigning as precise as possible a date to the Vienna portrait. This was not because of any lack of interest in Strada as such: on the contrary, Zimmermann limited himself here to the problem in hand, because he intended to publish a full biography of Strada, whom he deemed to be of great interest 'for the history of the collections dating from the Renaissance period in Austria and Bavaria'. In a footnote he cautions that all biographical notices on Strada published by that time contain more or less glaring and often misleading mistakes. Zimmermann never seems to have published any more of the material he had collected for his planned monograph, which never appeared. His research was not taken up by other Austrian scholars: only in his Geschichte der Sammlungen, part of a Festschrift intended to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, but published only at the end of the Second World War, did Alphons Lhotsky pay some attention to the role Strada had played at the Imperial court. His is a succinct and substantially correct, though incomplete summing up of available literature and published sources. The publication of material from the Bavarian and Austrian archives reflected a growing interest in detailed factual cultural history based on source material, and provided incentives and materials to its practitioners. For Munich the principal student was the librarian and intellectual historian Otto Hartig, whose Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht v. und Johann Jakob Fugger, published in the middle of the First World War, is perhaps the best history of any library ever written. Here for the first time some attention was paid to Strada's role in the creation of the Munich Hofbibliothek and the contiguous Antiquarium, and some hints were given of his close and fruitful relationship with his first known patron, Hans Jakob Fugger, many of whose intellectual preoccupations seem to have been shared by his protegé. In his posthumously published survey of Hans Jakob Fugger's life and career, Wilhelm Maasen, a young historian and sad casualty of the First World War, evoked the intellectual circle where these ideas first came to fruition. In Hartig's later

studies of the Kunsttätigkeit at the Bavarian court he not only published new archival data on Strada, but also illustrated and discussed Strada's architectural designs for the Munich Antiquarium.

'Schwer fassbare, universelle Persönlichkeit von grosser Vielseitigkeit und Wandelbarkeit, die Wohnsitz, Wirkungsstätte und Tätigkeit häufig wechselte'. Thus Fritz Schulz characterizes Strada in the succinct but basically sound summary of the evidence available at the time in his entry on Strada in volume 32 of Thieme-Beckers Allgemeines Künstler Lexikon, which came out in 1938. Though he probably errs in Strada's date of birth, and unnecessarily speculates about Strada's origin, his is perhaps the only attempt before the Second World War to present a balanced and complete view of Strada's career. It is no coincidence that it is found in an art-historical work of reference: though not really an artist, though not really an artistic patron, though intensively concerned in many cultural and intellectual pursuits other than the purely artistic, there can be no doubt that the visual arts remain Strada's central concern. It is therefore not surprising that modern discussions of Strada's activities can be found—with very few exceptions—in the pages of art-historical publications. Romance: Josef Svátek and the Rudolfine Legend

Before we turn to contemporary scholarly interest in Jacopo Strada, however, it is necessary to turn back for a moment to magic Prague of the nineteenth century, and to Josef Svátek (1835–1897), a Czech autor who happily and rather unscrupulously combined the vocations of journalist, novelist and historian. He was absolutely fascinated by the history of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and published more than twenty historical novels, most of which were set in this period. This implies that he possessed a fertile imagination, which he drew upon perhaps even when he intended his writings to be factual history, rather than fiction. Certainly the long article on the Strada family at court in Vienna and Prague he contributed in 1883 to Sborník historický, a new review published by a young professor at the Czech university of Prague, was presented as a careful investigation of source material.38 It is clear that Svátek not only used the source publications available at the time, but had himself consulted both the archives in Prague and Vienna and had studied much of the manuscript material from Strada's studio that had been preserved in the Imperial Library and collections.

Unfortunately he did not provide exact references, so it is difficult to be certain of his contentions when no other indications are available—some of which are unlikely, and others demonstrably false. In particular the big claims he makes for the components of the tasks of Jacopo and of Ottavio Strada as Imperial antiquaries—he sees them as principal curators of the celebrated Kunstkammer of Rudolf ii—are difficult to corroborate: in fact there are few indications that Jacopo played any role at court after Rudolf's accession, rather the contrary. It is even more difficult to believe that Svátek did not deliberately dramatize the story of Anna Maria Strada, an illegitimate daughter of Ottavio Strada who became Rudolf II's mistress and mother of two of his children. In Svátek's version of the facts she is renamed Katharina instead of Anna Maria, she is the daughter of Jacopo, instead of his granddaughter, becomes not only the mistress but even the morganatic wife of the Emperor, and the mother of (all of?) his illegitimate children, including the mad Don Julius.

This fictionalized account of the affair had a wide appeal, witness the history painting by Jan Skramlík (1860–1936) which had been illustrated in the Czech review Ruch of 1887 [Fig. 0.13]. Thus Strada became part of the web of legend about Rudolf ii the melancholic recluse, living amongst his art treasures surrounded by artists, alchemists and astrologers. This legend has been retold and reconstructed from its literary sources in Angelo Maria Ripellino's magisterial essay Praga Magica of 1973, but its historical basis has been carefully examined and partially deconstructed in Robert Evans' Rudolf ii and his World of the same year. Svátek himself was largely responsible for this legend, and he continued to draw upon it for his historical novels, in one of which at least, Astrolog of 1891–1892, the three Stradas—Jacopo, Ottavio and 'Donna Katharina'—play an important role.

FiGURE 0.13 Jan Skramlík, Rudolf ii visits the studio of his Antiquary Jacopo Strada, who introduces his daughter Katharina to the Emperor, after a painting reproduced in the Czech periodical Ruch, x, 1887.

The Czech legend of Rudolf ii crossed the Atlantic in 1904, when the American chemist and bibliographer Henry Carrington Bolton in his The Follies of Science at the Court of Rudolf ii told the history of the alchemical experiments attempted at Rudolf's court from the point of view of the positivist scientist, as the title indicates. He merely mentions Jacopo Strada as the man responsible for the development of Rudolf's Kunstkammer, and 'Katharina' is not even mentioned by name, though she figures prominently in the frontispiece, a print of Václav Brozík's painting Rodolphe chez son alchimiste that had likewise crossed the Atlantic, and hung in the entrance of New York's Lenox Library [Fig. 0.14].

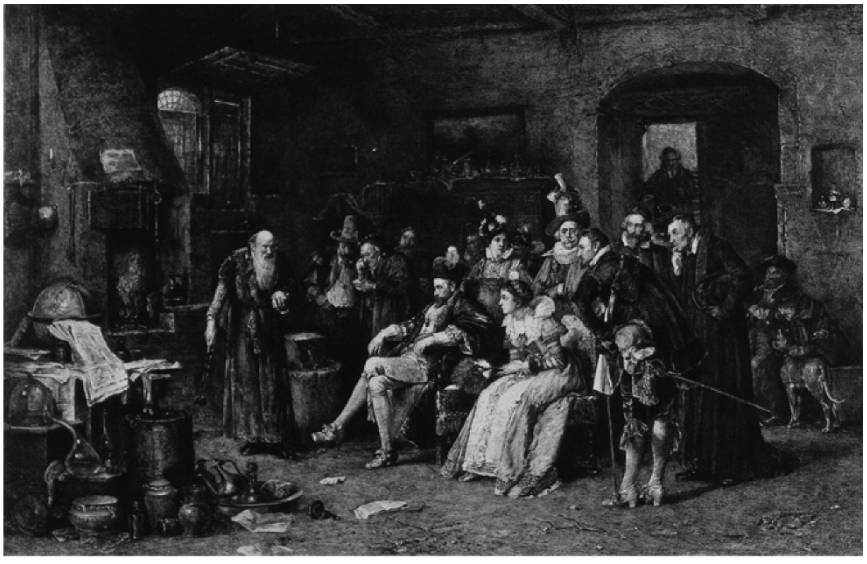


FiGURE 0.14 Václav Brozík, Rudolph with his Alchemist, engraving by Armand Mathey after a painting a reproduction of which served as the frontispiece to Henry Carrington Bolton, The Follies of Science at the Court of Rudolf ii, 1904.

Some of Svátek's contentions would be repeated in Czech literature even when of a purely scholarly kind. Some authors added their own presumptions, such as Antonín Truhlár, a professor at the famous Prague academic gymnasium. In its library he had found a copy of the history of the Dutch Revolt by the famous Jesuit historian Famiano Strada, on which he published a short note 'On the Genealogy of the Strada von Rosberg' in which he asserts that Famiano (born in Rome in 1572) were a grandson of 'the elder Strada', that is, of Jacopo Strada.45 Some of Svátek's contentions also reappear, again without documentary corroboration, in Cyril Straka's reasonably detailed survey of the activities of both Jacopo and Ottavio Strada of 1916. This was valuable nonetheless, because Straka had taken the trouble to examine most of their printed and manuscript works, of which he includes a summary discussion. He pays particular attention to the album in his own care as librarian of the Strahov monastery at Prague. A similar survey by Eugen Jaroslav Schulz, stressing Jacopo and Ottavio's numismatic work, dates from 1950, but for its historical underpinning it still leans largely on Svátek and Straka. Since they were written in Czech, the information in these articles was in general ignored by later authors.

A (Very) Modest Place in the History of Classical Scholarship

Schulz was a numismatist and his article appeared in a Czech numismatic periodical. It is clear that Strada's work was interesting to the modern numismatist as a modest chapter in the history of his discipline, rather than for any light it might shed on actual questions. Unlike great minds such as Scaliger and Lipsius, Strada did not contribute substantially to the development of classical history, and he rarely figures in the history of classical scholarship: his standing can be measured by the two dismissive sentences he receives in Eric Cochrane's five hundred-page Historians and historiography in the Italian Renaissance, where he is merely mentioned as an Italian scholar employed abroad, rather than as numismatist. Perhaps the only really scholarly appreciation of his antiquarian work in this field appeared already in 1869, in Emil Hübner's introductory note to the edition in the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum of a selection of Latin inscriptions from Spain which Strada had added, probably as an afterthought, to his edition of Caesar's Commentaries of 1575. Though he has an open mind about Strada—'homo minime doctus, sed callidus rerum antiquarum indagator'—he clearly does not accept him as a serious scholar. Nevertheless he is the first to cite not only Strada's numismatic albums, but also the other manuscript materials preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, including Strada's testament and the list of the books he intended to publish. Hübner apparently tried to identify the book containing over five thousand inscriptions Strada claimed to have collected, but finally had to be satisfied with guessing at the provenance of the Spanish inscriptions included in Strada's Caesar edition.

Contemporary Scholarship

History of Art and Cultural History

Whereas Strada's numismatic publications do not excite the interest of modern archaeologists, they do attract scholarly attention of those interested in the reception of classical Antiquity in the Renaissance. An early example is the German art historian Paul Ortwin Rave, who places Strada's treatise within an old and continuing tradition for which he coined the term Bildnisvitenbücher, that is books in which the lives of illustrious heroes from the past were illustrated by a portrait, from which, it was held, their characters could be inferred. Since these images were often derived from true or spurious ancient coins (the Roman Emperors are obvious examples), a woodcut or engraved medallion became the accepted format for such portraits even of those heroes whose likeness had certainly never graced a coin or medal.49 Such 'portraits of the past' are the point of departure for Francis Haskell's wonderful book on the role of the image in our conception of the past, History and its images of 1991. In its very first chapter, 'The Early Numismatists', Strada's Epitome thesauri antiquitatum is discussed in detail, and in the following chapter it is linked to his part in the creation

of the Munich Antiquarium. The Epitome is likewise discussed, in relation to the Titian portrait and Strada's career, in John Cunnally's Images of the Illustrious: The Numismatic Presence in the Renaissance of 1999.

Francis Haskell and John Cunnally are both examples of art historians interested as much in the context of a work of art as in the object itself. It is obvious that Jacopo Strada appeals more to this type of cultural historian than to the connoisseur: after all very few of Strada's own works have been identified, and most of these are copied or derived from other works of art—and this holds notably for his most typical work, his numismatic drawings. These show him to have been a competent draughtsman. The very few original inventions that can be securely attributed to him, though demonstrating a similar competence and a thorough comprehension of the artistic language of his time, can hardly be reckoned great works of art. So it is not surprising that modern scholarship on Strada generally has originated as a by-product of specialized research into various topics of the history of art and architecture of the sixteenth century, in which he figures in a subordinate role. Only two or three authors have attempted an overall survey of his career, and even then he appears always in the context of research into a theme where his role happened to have been relatively important. In the following a selection of publications discussing or referring to Strada will be briefly reviewed. They will be grouped by theme rather than chronologically.

Contemporary Scholarship: Drawings and Designs for Goldsmith Work

One of the themes that have attracted most interest are the designs for goldsmith's work after Giulio Romano and other Italian masters that are found in several albums from the studio of Jacopo and Ottavio Strada. These were mostly based on the huge collection of drawings by Italian masters in Jacopo's possession. As mentioned above, they were known in Vienna and Prague through the 1869 facsimile edition of Ottavio Strada's drawings in the album in the Dietrichstein collection, and the presence of the manuscript, first mentioned by Cyril Straka, in the monastery of Strahov at Prague. The Strahov album contains both original drawings by Giulio Romano and copies in the hand of the Stradas and/or their copyists. It has been carefully studied by Beket Bukovinská, Elišká Fucíková and Lubomir Konecný. They published an exhaustive catalogue of these drawings in the Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorische Sammlungen of 1984, which is the fundamental publication on this subject. On the basis of her study of these drawings Fucíková had earlier attributed a set of very elegant numismatic drawings in Budapest to Ottavio and Jacopo Strada. The codex Chlumczansky, another album from Strada's collection now in the National Museum in Prague containing miscellaneous and mostly earlier antiquarian material, has been the subject of an equally conscientious edition by Vladimír Juren. Both editions provide invaluable information on the origins and character of Strada's collection.

Several albums of copies of similar designs prepared in the Strada workshop have been preserved elsewhere, a number of which have been subject of a thorough examination by one of the great specialists of sixteenth-century goldsmith's work, John Hayward. In his wake some more similar material was identified by Peter Fuhring in the collection of Prince Waldburg-Wolfegg. Less convincing is the attribution to Jacopo Strada of another set of splendid drawings in a private collection, though it is clear that there are as yet unexplained connections between this series and Strada's collection. Of the greatest importance is Silke Reiter's exhaustive catalogue of a number of volumes of drawings traditionally attributed to the Nuremberg goldsmith, draftsman and engraver Erasmus Hornick. She shows that these drawings cannot integrally be attributed to Hornick, and carefully analyses the relationship of these albums with the workshop of Jacopo and Ottavio Strada, thus providing a solid foundation for any eventual integral inventory and analysis of the products of this workshop. Valery Taylor has been working on Giulio Romano's goldsmith's designs, including

the copies in the albums from the Strada workshop, interpreting them in the light of the culture of the princely table in the Renaissance.

Contemporary Scholarship: Architecture

Some other components of Strada's huge collection of drawings have likewise been the subject of detailed study. Principal among these are what the American scholar William Bell Dinsmoor in a ground breaking article in the Art Bulletin of 1942 termed 'the literary remains of Sebastiano Serlio'. Speculations as to the quantity and character of the material Strada obtained and his project to print the as yet unpublished books of Serlio's architectural treatise have since been exhaustively treated. This was first done in 1966 by Marco Rosci in his edition of the Munich manuscript of the Sesto Libro of Serlio's architectural treatise, then by Myra Nan Rosenfeld in her important article on Serlio's manuscript of the Settimo Libro in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna and in her edition of the Columbia University manuscript of the Sesto Libro. The Serlio conference at Vicenza in 1989 provided the present author with an opportunity to present and discuss the results of a detailed examination of the documents. Finally Francesco Paolo Fiore and Tancredi Carrunchio summed up the state of the question in the introduction to Architettura civile, their edition of the Vienna and Munich manuscripts of the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Books of Serlio's treatise of 1994.57 These new findings were also discussed in Sebastiano Serlio: Architecture et Imprimerie, the publication edited by Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa presenting the results of an international research project centred around an exhibition and a conference on this theme in 1998. Sabine Frommel's important monograph on Serlio, concentrating on the work of the architect itself rather than on the publishing history of his writings, refers to Strada only when relevant and in passing.

Of equal interest for the history of sixteenth-century architecture are the detailed drawings of the facades and the complete decoration of the Palazzo del Te in Mantua that Strada commissioned in 1567. These were known to have existed from the sources, and they were already referred to in Hartig's history of the foundation of the Munich library survey by Duke Albrecht v, for whom this documentation was made, and in Elizabeth Herget's article on the influence of the Palazzo del Te on the architecture north of the Alps during the later sixteenth century.59 The drawings themselves, which were preserved in the Kunstmuseum in Düsseldorf with an old attribution to Santi Bartoli, were only identified later in the 1960s by Egon Verheyen, who dedicated a long article to them. On the basis of their obvious connection with Strada's manuscript description of the Palazzo del Te published by Davari in 1889, of available data culled from the Munich sources, and of a comparison with Strada's numismatic drawings and his designs for the Munich Antiquarium, Verheyen attributed the drawings to Strada himself. He also pointed out their crucial importance for a good understanding of the genesis and iconography of the Palazzo del Te and its decoration. Soon a discussion developed between him and the American architectural historians Kurt Forster and Richard Tuttle about a possible ideological intent of the building, and about the reliability of Strada's drawings.

These drawings were not, however, in Strada's own hand: he had merely commissioned them from the young Mantuan painter Ippolito Andreasi, as Renate von Busch demonstrated on the basis of an even more attentive reading of the available documents. In 1984 Richard Harprath catalogued them in his long article in Master Drawings on Ippolito Adreasi as a draughtsman. Some years later a selection of the drawings was shown in the large exhibition on Giulio Romano within the walls of the palace they documented, and they were used in the preparation of its restoration. They were moreover illustrated in Amedeo Belluzzi splendid 'atlas' of the Palazzo del Te, two beautiful though unaffordable volumes illustrating the architecture and every single decorative element of this important complex. Belluzzi provided a transcription of Strada's accompanying description and discussed both his acquisition of Giulio's drawings and his commission of Andreasi's designs.

Meanwhile, in an article about later pictorial additions to Raphael's Vatican Loggia, Bernice Davidson discussed the even more detailed and splendidly illuminated documentary drawings of this other key monument of the history of the Renaissance, which had been commissioned by Strada a decade before those of the Palazzo del Te.

In 1617 Jacopo Strada's grandson Ottavio II published a volume of technical designs under his grandfather's name. This book was first seriously discussed in an article on 'plagiarists' of Francesco di Giorgio Martini's technical designs, published by Ladislao Reti in 1963. Until the discovery, by the French antiquarian booksellers Bernard and Stéphane Clavreuil, of a manuscript containing autograph drawings by Jacopo of similar technical inventions, these had only been known through some similar manuscripts prepared by Jacopo's son, Ottavio i Strada, which were presented to various European princes. One of these manuscripts was dedicated to Don Giovanni de' Medici and is preserved in the Museo delle Scienze in Florence. A publication of this volume sponsored by eni, the National Electricity Network of Italy, presented the opportunity to place these drawings in context. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann treated the intellectual, technical and military concerns of the sixteenth century, the present author wrote about the workshop and later history of three generations of Strada's, and Luisa Dolza and Vittorio Marchis discussed the development of this specific type of literature in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Unfortunately it proved not possible to include a detailed analysis of each technical invention and its probable sources.

In his 'Kunsttätigkeit in München unter Wilhelm iv und Albrecht V' of 1933 Otto Hartig presented Strada's designs for the Munich Antiquarium, and was thus the first to demonstrate that Strada was himself actively involved in the architectural projects of his patrons. This information allowed Renate Rieger just after the Second World War to attribute to Strada some part in the conception of the Neugebäude, the extensive pleasure garden just outside Vienna laid out for the Emperor Maximilian ii. She observed correspondences in form and construction between its principal element, a huge half-open gallery built over two immense, vaulted halls, and the Antiquarium, which led her both to postulate a similar function for the Neugebäude, and to attribute a role in its conception and design to Jacopo Strada. In his short monograph on the Neugebäude of 1976 Rupert Feuchtmüller follows this up with some more arguments, without assigning any concrete role to Strada.

Certainly the Antiquarium and the Neugebäude are of signal importance for an understanding of Jacopo's role at the courts of Munich and Vienna: the two best surveys of his career to date were published as a spin-off of research into their history.69 But even before that, Erich Hubala had discovered another, alternative design for the Antiquarium, and in his article of 1958 he carefully reviewed all the drawings and the most relevant documents. For the reception of this important article it was perhaps unfortunate that Henry RussellHitchcock, in his general overview of German Renaissance architecture of 1981, mixed up the drawings, publishing an image of the German alternative design under Strada's name instead of Strada's own drawings. This alternative design is in any case a source of misattributions; a later attribution to the Flemish neo-Latin poet Niccolò Stopio by Heike Frosien-Leinz is based on a misreading of the sources.

At about the same time that Hubala was going through the Munich archives in connection with the Antiquarium, in Vienna Harry Kühnel was collecting archival data to document the development of the Hofburg, the principal residence of the Habsburg Emperors in their capital during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He published his findings between 1956 and 1961 in a series of articles in the Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. In the third part, 'Die landesfürstlichen Baumeister der Wiener Hofburg von 1494 bis 1569', published in 1959, he included a brief but significant survey of Strada's career in Vienna. Though he cites only one document indicating that Strada had some unspecified share in the restructuring of the Hofburg complex under Ferdinand i and Maximilian ii, Kühnel recognized that his presence in Vienna was of considerable

interest for its history. He carefully lists the references he found in the various archives, including many financial records which had not been published before. Kühnel is also the first who recognized the importance of Strada's will, of which he gives a summary.

Renate von Busch and Hilda Lietzmann

Jacopo Strada had a considerable share in the conception and realization of both the Munich Antiquarium and the Vienna Neugebäude. Research into the history of these two splendid monuments of the Northern Renaissance led to the two really extensive studies on Strada's career. The first of these is added as an excursus to Renate von Busch's 1973 Tübingen dissertation Studien zu deutschen Antikensammlungen des 16. Jahrhunderts. It is sad that this wonderful book, whose gifted author unfortunately died shortly after its completion, has never been republished in an illustrated edition. On the basis of exhaustive archival research, it provides a survey of the earliest collections of antiquities in Germany, culminating in a detailed chronicle of the genesis of Duke Albrecht V's collection and of the Antiquarium built to house it. Accurate critical reading of the many sources she consulted—including the Libri antiquitatum of the Bavarian State Archive mentioned above—led to the discovery of Strada's central role. His importance in this respect incited Von Busch to add the excursus in which she gave an ample and detailed survey of Strada's career. She is the first since Titian who, by judicious selection and ample citation of her sources, manages to evoke Jacopo Strada as an actual human being, with all his enthusiasms, his little vanities, and his obstinacy. She is also the first who implicitly seems to detect some coherence in Strada's very diverse occupations. Of particular moment are her appreciation of Strada's long-lasting and intimate relationship with Hans Jakob Fugger, and her noting, in their correspondence, of the passage which documents that Strada made designs for the Vienna Neugebäude as well as for the Munich Antiquarium.

Von Busch confirmed Renate Rieger's intimation that Strada was in some way implicated in the design of the Neugebäude merely in a footnote. It was investigated in detail in Hilda Lietzmann's monograph on that huge monument, a book which has put it on the art historical map and has doubtless stimulated the attempts of the last decades to rehabilitate its remains. Lietzmann provides the first more or less all-round appreciation of Jacopo Strada as an artist and places him in the context of the artistic and architectural patronage at court. She is the first to insist that Strada's salary as a court architect presupposes his serious involvement in at least some of the projects initiated by Ferdinand I and Maximilian ii. She is the first to advance the plausible attribution of the design of the Stallburg to Strada. This annexe to the Hofburg was built for Maximilian ii as heir to the throne between 1559, when Strada had just arrived, and 1565.75 With the Neugebäude she thus also puts Strada himself on the map, which resulted in sections both on the Neugebäude and on Strada himself in the Vienna version of the Giulio Romano exhibition of 1989–1990. As a follow-up, Lietzmann published some additional documents on Strada, highlighting certain unknown aspects of his later career. In a very interesting article published in 2006 Wolfgang Lippmann analyses the Neugebäude in the light of the results of material research on the complex, and places it in a wider European context, but adds little to Lietzmann as far as Strada's role in its conception is concerned. In contrast, the authors of the recent monumental and very useful, though excessively positivist study on the building history of the Vienna Hofburg totally ignore him. Not finding archival data immediately linking Strada to concrete interventions and not understanding Strada's position at court, their omission demonstrates a serious misapprehension of Strada's role, of his immediate influence on the development of parts of the Hofburg complex, and on the architecture in the Habsburg lands in general.

Modern Scholarship: Collecting and Princely Patronage

Whereas Strada's contributions to the Antiquarium and the Neugebäude have been extensively researched, his other activities for his patrons in Munich and Bavaria have received less attention. Hartig's article on patronage and collecting at the court of Albrecht v has already been mentioned above; it was recapitulated, together with the results of Renate von Busch's research, in the general introduction of Herbert Brunner's Kunstschätze der Münchner Residenz of 1977. The antiquarian component of Albrecht's collections and Strada's contributions to it have since been discussed more fully in the huge two-volume catalogue of the sculptures in the Antiquarium edited by Ellen Weski and Heike Frosien-Leinz published in 1987 and its introductory essays. In particular Horst Stierhof's discussion of the building history of the Anti-quarium and Frosien-Leinz's discussion of its significance in the sixteenth century are relevant for Strada's role. The book is moreover invaluable for the archival sources published in its appendix and its profuse illustration.

Strada's influence on Albrecht's collection in general is mentioned in Lorenz Seelig's paper on the Munich Kunstkammer at the 1983 Oxford Symposium The Cabinet of Curiosities and discussed more fully by Mark Meadow in his initial exploration of Hans Jakob Fugger's importance for the development of the Munich complex of collections and its theoretical basis. The 1583 inventory of the Kunstkammer has recently been published in extenso, and was followed shortly afterwards by two huge volumes of catalogue and commentary, together providing as detailed a reconstruction of the Munich collections as will ever be possible. This adds immensely to our knowledge and understanding of this basically scholarly and scientific, rather than purely artistic institution. In the commentary volumes the material with which Jacopo had provided the Kunstkammer are carefully described and put in context. Finally, the origin of the Munich Staatsbibliothek was described by its former director, Franz Georg Kaltwasser, in his overview of its history focusing on the display of its holdings, and more in general on its scholarly, scientific and cultural function. He does not, however, define Strada's role in this any more precisely than Hartig had done. In 2008, finally, the 450th anniversary of the founding of the Staatsbibliothek was celebrated with an exhibition and an accompanying catalogue in which a number of the materials provided by Strada are discussed and illustrated, often for the first time. Two years later Christien Melzer showed that materials from Strada's workshop were also included in the Dresden Kunstkammer, and briefly discussed and illustrated a number of libri di disegni still preserved in the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett.

Interest in collecting has always been a Viennese speciality, witness not only the exemplary source publications in the Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen, but also Julius von Schlosser's influential, more theoretical essay, Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätenaissance 0f 1908. The origins of the imperial collections in Vienna were studied by Alphons Lhotsky on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the opening of the Kunsthistorisches Museum. Rotraud Bauer and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann were the first to suggest that the Kunstkammer of Emperor Rudolf ii was influenced by the ideas of Samuel Quiccheberg which were transmitted by Strada. Elizabeth Scheicher pays some attention to Strada in her survey of Habsburg collecting of 1979, Die Kunst- und Wunderkammer der Habsburger, but in view of the inadequate concrete evidence available wisely refuses to speculate about his precise role. A letter by Strada to the Czech magnate Vilém z Rozmberka published by Fritz Eheim in 1963 provided evidence that Strada also worked for others than members of the dynasty.

Most literature on patronage and collecting of the sixteenth-century Austrian Habsburgs focuses on Archduke Ferdinand ii of Tirol and Emperor Rudolf II. It was only in 1995 that Karl Rudolf published a detailed study of such Kunstbestrebungen at the Imperial court before Rudolf ii's accession, presenting many unknown sources and making an illuminating comparison with similar activities at the court of Maximilian ii's cousin and brother-in-law, King Philip ii of Spain. Strada is discussed in

particular in his role as a numismatic expert.85 Rudolf does not explicitly question Schlager's characterization of Strada as an 'Aufseher auf die Kunstkammer', but he might well have done so, since he concludes, probably correctly, that at the time a more or less formal, centrally organized Kunstkammer as could be found at Munich, Ambras and later at Prague, as yet had not come into existence in Vienna.

In his Rudolf ii and his world of 1973, Robert Evans mentions several of Strada's activities in connection with the general intellectual milieu of the Imperial court during the second half of the sixteenth century. Of course Strada often briefly figures in monographs on other figures at that court, such as Augerius Busbequius and Joannes Sambucus.87 But he is rarely given more than passing attention in studies of the intellectual milieu of the period. Whereas Nicolette Mout, in her dissertation on the relations between Bohemia and the Netherlands in the sixteenth century, briefly sketches Jacopo and Ottavio's career, and is the first to mention Strada's attempt to have Christophe Plantin print his books, Strada is hardly mentioned in Paula Fichtner's predominantly political biographies of Ferdinand i and Maximilian II. A collection of essays on Maximilian ii and his period edited by Friedrich Edelmayer and Alfred Kohler included an essay by the present author which attempted to clarify his formal position at the Imperial court. One aspect of his tasks at court was discussed in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann's 1978 dissertation, Variations on the Imperial Theme in the Age of Maximilian ii and Rudolf ii, in which he was the first to discuss Strada's costume designs for various court festivities, and placed them in the larger intellectual and iconographical context at court. That Strada had in fact a larger responsibility in this field than has previously been assumed follows from new finds in archives in Mantua and Vienna, published by Elena Venturini and by Otto Schindler, by the recent find and convincing attribution of two autograph designs for such festival costumes by Zoltán Kárpáti, and by the even more recent identification of two volumes of festival designs from Strada's workshop in the Dresden Kupferstichkabinett by Gudula Metze and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann. Kaufmann has repeatedly returned to Strada also in other contexts.

Following in Kaufmann's footsteps the intellectual historian Howard Lou-than included a detailed investigation of Strada's career at the Imperial court in his The Quest for Compromise: Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna of 1997. In this book he selects four key-figures—'Peacemakers in CounterReformation Vienna'—whose exploits in various fields exemplify the conciliating or irenic aspirations of Maximilian and his entourage. The fields he discusses are politics, exemplified by Maximilian's general Lazarus von Schwendi; religion, illustrated by his personal physician Johannes Crato; humanist learning, illustrated by his librarian Hugo Blotius; and finally the arts, illustrated by Jacopo Strada, who, Louthan stresses, 'helped transform a more provincial Habsburg court into a sophisticated and international center of artistic activity'. In her article 'The appropriation of Italian Renaissance art by German courts', Barbara Marx accorded Strada an important place in this process, stressing his role as mediator in particular in the acquisition of antiquities by German princes. She considers such antiquities as explicit markers of the values (and the fashions?) of the Italian Renaissance as adopted by the more ambitious courts north of the Alps. They functioned as such both in the originals, such as those brought together in Duke Albrecht V's Antiquarium in Munich, and in their graphic representations, such as those provided by the Strada workshop: Marx is the first to publish illustrations from a manuscript of drawings of imperial busts Ottavio Strada presented to Grand Duke Francesco i of Tuscany.

What Has Not Been Written on Jacopo Strada

The foregoing overview shows that almost everything ever written on Jacopo Strada was a spin-off of its author's specialized interest in one of the fields in which Strada had been active, rather than an intrinsic interest in the career of this rather unusual personality. Even the careful reviews of his career by Renate von Busch and Hilda Lietzmann were the result of their exhaustive investigations of

the history of the collecting of antiquities at the Bavarian court, and of the history of Maximilian ii's Neugebäude respectively. Given that most literature on Strada originates in such specialized research, it is not surprising that there remain some aspects of his career which have received little or no attention, even where such attention might have been expected.

It is, for instance, remarkable that the presence of his portrait has not excited greater interest in Vienna itself, where Strada reached the high point of his career. In the wake of Renate Rieger's suggestions only a few remarks have been made about his influence on the developments of local architecture, foremost by Hilda Lietzmann. An exception is Alfred Strnad's wide-ranging survey of the reception of the Italian Renaissance in the Habsburg Erblande based on a very thorough examination of the available secondary sources. He pays much attention to the artistic developments in the sixteenth century and, following Lietzmann, briefly discusses Strada's role. Until recently the Vienna court of this period in general has been little studied, compared to the courts of Maximilian i, Charles v and Rudolf ii. For the period of Ferdinand i, covering the first decade of Strada's career at court, this was remedied by the huge exhibition of the Kunsthistorisches Museum on the occasion of the fifth centenary of his birth in 2003. Though Strada was explicitly appointed as an architect by Ferdinand I, he does not figure at all in the catalogue, not even where existing documents might have made a discussion of his possible role useful, such as the Maximiliansgrab in Innsbruck.

It is true that, at first sight, Vienna in the second half of the sixteenth century looks rather bleak, in contrast with the rich Middle Ages, culminating in the romantic figure of the 'Last knight', the Emperor Maximilian I, or with the baroque splendour of the Austrian court in the later seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. But this bleakness—and the resulting lack of interest among scholars—can be partly explained by the dearth of (published) sources and the relatively few monuments from the period that have survived intact. Most research has been done by art historians who were often employed at the Kunsthistorisches Museum and whose approach is necessarily more objectoriented than that of cultural or intellectual historians. However, Karl Rudolf's study on the artistic patronage of Maximilian II cited above has shown that the dearth of available sources might be remedied by more extensive and systematic archival research. This material doubtless contributed to the revaluation of the court of Maximilian ii that is evident in the catalogue of the 2007–2008 exhibitions in Paris and Vienna dedicated to his court-painter Giuseppe Arcimboldo. There at least some attention was paid also to Strada's role at court.

It is particularly odd that the materials from Strada's studio preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and in the University Library of Vienna have hardly attracted any scholarly attention since Zimmermann. Even two contemporary lists of manuscripts and books from Strada's library that are probably of considerable value for the history of the early holdings of the Hofbibliothek—the list of printed books is an offer of sale, and the items listed were probably sold to Rudolf II by Strada or his heirs—has incited no interest; this in contrast with similar lists relating to acquisitions by or from contemporaries such as Joannes Sambucus and Hugo Blotius. In general very little attention has been paid to Strada's place in the history of the book, considering his close connection with two of the greatest libraries of the sixteenth century and his activities in the book trade in general. Doubtless this is largely due to the fact that he was not a locally established publisher, but had his books printed in three different countries.

Another strange lacuna in scholarship is Strada's role in the creative process of Wenzel Jamnitzer's workshop. In view of the available documents, printed already in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, it is inconceivable and unjustifiable that his name does not appear even once in the recent detailed, three volume survey of the history of Nuremberg goldsmith's work, an omission the less explicable since recent scholarship has at least indicated some intimations of his possible importance in this field.

Other themes may not have been taken up because their intrinsic interest seems not to recompense the quantity of work—and expense—involved: the best example is Strada's Magnum ac novum Opus, the corpus of over nine thousand numismatic drawings preserved at Gotha. In spite of the fame it enjoyed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it has only recently been the subject of a preliminary material investigation. The modest quality of most of the drawings as works of art would not soon invite art-historical interest, and their value for modern numismatic studies is limited. They could, however, be of interest as documents of the intellectual preoccupations and scholarly procedure of the sixteenth century: for that reason the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft DFG has decided to fund a project to digitize both Strada's coin-images in Gotha—which are already accessible on-line—and his related coin-descriptions.

Weaving the Strands Together: The Purpose of this Study

It is clear that most available information on Strada comes from specialized publications, which illustrate only one or at most a few aspects of his career. This also holds for most of my own earlier publications on Strada, which deal with specific themes: Strada's relations with his patrons, especially at the Imperial court, his activities as a collector and dealer in art and antiquities, his antiquarian studies, and his interest in architecture.

The present book may fill some of the lacunae signalled above, but it is primarily an attempt towards an all-round biography of Jacopo Strada. First it will give as complete an overview as possible of the many different activities in which he engaged during his long life. Second, its aim is to analyse each of these activities in their context, or rather contexts: context of place and context of time; context of traditions continued, and of innovations introduced by Strada and his contemporaries. Most important, Strada's activities will be considered not as separate or isolated events, but will be studied in relation to one another. One question will be whether it is possible to reduce the manifold and at first sight disparate aspects of Strada's life and career to something approaching a meaningful and coherent order. Can a consistent pattern be discovered in his activities that would allow us to add them up to something approaching a distinct profession? And if so, was such a profession more than just a private concept present in Strada's mind, or can it be considered a more or less generally recognized trade, craft or calling?

If so, the name of that profession is clearly and proudly indicated on the title pages of all of Strada's books and presentation manuscripts, and was never omitted from his signature in his letters to his patrons: Antiquario in Italian, Antiquarius in Latin. As we have seen, in English these terms can be translated by 'antiquarian', 'antiquary', or even 'archaeologist'. In my text I generally prefer to use the term 'antiquary', as being the most neutral and least anachronistic.103 A comparative study of other individuals indicated or indicating themselves with this appellation is no part of this study, but I hope the presentation of the data of Strada's career in future will help to answer that question by making such a comparison feasible.

Considering the certain data on Strada's life in their mutual interdependence and in their context will allow me to draw some conclusions not warranted by the isolated facts alone. The extant documents, which are listed in the chronological list of sources inserted at the end of this book, allow me to sketch a truthful, though incomplete map of his career, to define the location and the size of the remaining white spots on this map, and in some cases provide at least an inkling of what may be found there. One of the white spots is, for instance, the commercial side of Strada's workshop: as for almost all of his contemporaries, his private accounts have not been preserved, though it is clear that particularly in his case the information these would provide would have been invaluable. Another white spot is the role Strada played with regard to the artistic patronage at the court of Maximilian ii, his most important patron. It will be argued that the lack of conclusive evidence here is largely caused by the fact of Strada's personal presence at court, where his influence

was chiefly exerted through direct oral consultation with his patron and with other courtiers, as well as with the artists and scholars involved in the Emperor's projects.

The next step is to fill in the white spots as far as possible, by means of a process of reasonable conjecture. It is, for instance, rather likely that Strada was paid a substantial salary as a court architect because he was expected to actually contribute to the building projects at court. We may reasonably assume that he did so, even though we do not exactly know what he did, when and for which project. Setting out from that assumption, a detailed examination of what we do know factually about Strada as an architect and designer, about the building projects at court, and about possible competitors, will help us to define his general role more clearly, and possibly even allow us to assign specific tasks or commissions to him. Likewise, it is very unlikely that Wenzel Jamnitzer would have chosen Strada as a designer for the prestigious commission Archduke Ferdinand gave him, if he did not know Strada personally, and had not had previous experience of his competence. We may reasonably attempt to reconstruct their collaboration on the basis of further documentary and stylistic evidence. Though such reasonable conjectures are bound to remain hypotheses which for lack of explicit data may never be proved conclusively, they nonetheless carry us as far into the white spots in Strada's life, and as close to the historical truth, as we will ever be able to get.

By spinning such loose fibres, fragments of factual evidence, into threads, and weaving these uneven threads together, I hope to produce a fabric that— however loosely-knit and full of holes—will be strong enough to support some definite conclusion about Strada's profession, his character, and his place in the cultural history of his time. The most important of these will be an estimate of his influence on the development of ideas and taste in the regions where he was active, in particular his role as an agent in the transmission of the ideas and artistic forms of the Italian Renaissance across the Alps. <>

Remedios Varo: The Mexican Years by Remedios Varo, edited Masayo Nonaka [RM, 9788415118220]

A definitive survey of the life and work of a singularly appealing and mysterious surrealist painter

Remedios Varo: The Mexican Years offers a definitive survey of the life and work of a singularly appealing and mysterious Surrealist painter. Born and raised in Spain, Remedios Varo received her earliest training in Madrid before fleeing the Spanish Civil War in 1937 to join Surrealist circles in Paris. The outbreak of World War II forced her to take refuge in Mexico, where she remained until her untimely death in 1963, and where she created her most enduring work. Known as one of the three "brujas" (witches) active in the Mexico City art milieu, Varo shared an interest in esotericism with fellow painter Leonora Carrington and a range of interests in science, philosophy and the literature of German Romanticism with the photographer Kati Horna. For some ten years, from the mid–1950s until her death in 1963, Varo devoted herself to creating an extraordinary dreamlike oeuvre, on the threshold between mysticism and modernity. Her beautifully crafted images of medieval interiors, occult workshops and androgynous figures engaged in alchemical pursuits evoke the eerie allegories of Hieronymus Bosch, esoteric engravings and the charm and lure of fairytales. This catalogue includes a complete illustrated chronology with never before published images and describes Varo's role in the Mexican Surrealist movement and her relations with Luis Buñuel, Octavio Paz, Benjamin Péret, Alice Rahon, Wolfgang Paalen and many others.

CONTENTS

Remedios Varo (1908–1963) fled the Spanish Civil War and then World War II to settle in Mexico where she helped establish a Mexican Surrealist movement and painted visions that combined modernism with mysticism. She was married to the leading French Surrealist Benjamin Péret.

This book deals with the life and works of one of the most interesting and mysterious surrealist painters of the twentieth century. The first monograph on the artist to circulate worldwide, it includes an introductory study by Masayo Nonaka, curator of the exhibition *Women Surrealists in Mexico* and author of several books on Mexican surrealism. Masayo's essay provide a singular perspective on the pictorial universe of Remedios Varo and is accompanied by magnificent reproductions of her most important paintings.

The group of works included in this book was part of the exhibition *In Wonderland: The Surrealist Adventures of Women Artists in Mexico and the United States*, which visited various venues in the Unites States and Canada in 2012.

Excerpt: Varo sought for harmony and tried to synthesize, or to create a bridge between mysticism or ancient wisdom and the modern mind. In her imaginary world, esotericism touches on certain aspects of the most advanced science, as in her last completed painting, *Still Life Reviving* (1963). This work is no less intriguingly evasive than her other best paintings. It evokes an orthodox religious atmosphere, with the table set for the Last Supper and the burning candle symbolizing the dwindling flame of life, while a gust of wind makes eight plates float into space and flutters the table cloth, as if a poltergeist were at work. A microcosmic track appears on the table as an image of the macrocosm. The fruits collide and explode, spilling their seeds over the earth, and the seeds germinate and sprout with new life, as if symbolizing metempsychosis.

In addition to these mystical and allegorical readings, the painting might also contain a different aspect. Pauwels and Bergier note in **THE MORNING OF THE MAGICIANS: SECRET SOCIETIES, CONSPIRACIES, AND VANISHED CIVILIZATIONS**, a book to which Varo was devoted: "Modern science has shown that behind the visible there exists an extremely complicated invisible. A table, a chair, a starry sky are in fact radically different from our ideas of them: they are systems in motion, suspended energy." Varo might have been rendering the mystery of the universe that contemporary astronomers, physicists, and natural philosophers have been working on. In the imaginary world of Remedios Varo the frontier between mysticism and modern science dissolves, exactly where her surrealism and poetic dreams begin.

<>

Alchemy, Jung, and Remedios Varo: Cultural Complexes and the Redemptive Power of the Abjected Feminine by Dennis Pottenger, Rebecca Livingston Pottenger [Research in Analytical Psychology and Jungian Studies, Routledge, 9780367704216]

Alchemy, Jung, and Remedios Varo offers a depth psychological analysis of the art and life of Remedios Varo, a Spanish surrealist painter. The book uses Varo's paintings in a revolutionary way: to critique the patriarchal underpinnings of Jungian psychology, alchemy, and Surrealism, illuminating how Varo used painting to address cultural complexes that silence female expression.

The book focuses on how the practice of alchemical psychology, through the power of imagination and the archetypal Feminine, can lead to healing and transformation for individuals and culture. *Alchemy, Jung, and Remedios Varo* offers the first in-depth psychological treatment of the role alchemy played in the friendship between Varo and Leonora Carrington—a connection that led to paintings that protest the pitfalls of patriarchy.

This unique book will be of great interest for academics, scholars, and post-graduate students in the fields of analytical psychology, art history, Surrealism, cultural criticism, and Jungian studies.

Reviews

"Revelatory and inspired—a masterpiece! This work leads us into a "numinous cosmos infused with wonder and love" through a delicate but powerful engagement with the life and art of Remedios Varo. With an attentive and reverent eye, Dennis Pottenger sifts into the alchemical nature of Varo's painful life—traumas that broke the artist open to an intimate engagement with imagination, the sacred Feminine, and the numinous and transformative forces at work in our lives. With words and images, Pottenger seasons a stew that nourishes the spiritual, imaginal, and symbolic aspects of life and the alchemical way in which we work to re-make ourselves and the world around us." — *Bonnie Bright, Ph.D., Archetypal Pattern Analyst®, Transpersonal Soul-Centered Coach/ Mentor*

"Alchemy, Jung, and Remedios Varo successfully weaves three significant threads of modernity: life as an alchemical transformation, which requires acceptance of the inherent inevitability of death; the oppressive nature of systemic patriarchy; and the relevance of the artistic work of Varo as herald of the consequences of such entanglements. The tapestry created is honest and compassionate. A must read for the politically aware, the artistically minded, and psychologists of any ilk." —*Sukey Fontelieu, PhD, LMFT, Faculty member, Pacifica Graduate Institute, Jungian and Archetypal Studies Program*

"Like the "owl artist" in Remedios Varo's *Creation of the Birds*, this work brilliantly explores Varo's creative genius, and is itself a new color—a green of Spring leaves—the hue of Hope. Just as Varo paints the music of the heart with the light reflected through her triangular magnifying glass, Dennis Pottenger filters a consciousness of depth through the triple prism of Jung, Hillman, and alchemy. He grounds this psychological process in the alembic of art historical research and writes with a poetic pen." —*Mary Wells Barron, Jungian psychoanalyst, author of papers on Jan Van Eyck and Remedios Varo.*

"Dennis Pottenger provides a model of how to view, reflect upon, be physically and emotionally present with, and imagine oneself into works of art in order to grow in understanding of psyche. Working from a premise that patriarchal men, in resistance to vulnerability and death, operate from a will to power that results in women's being subordinated, silenced, and hurt, Pottenger traces the alchemical development of self expressed in Remedios Varo's art as he analyzes her woman's-experience-based capacity to render death psychologically generative. Pottenger highlights the role of her friendship with sister artist, Leonora Carrington, in the development of an artistic vision that offers to catalyze psychological movement in viewers away from patriarchal fear of death and toward embrace of the cycle of birth, life, death, and rebirth." —*Inez Martinez, Feminist writer and poet*

"Dennis Pottenger's essay is a poignant and beautifully rendered study into the alchemy of Varo's paintings. With a poetic eye and meticulous attention to symbolic detail, he follows Varo's movement toward individuation as the artist works to express the way psychic structures weave together, separate, dissolve, and point to the transmutation of psyche."—*Eva Rider, Jungian-oriented psychotherapist, workshop leader*

CONTENTS

Artist Remedios Varo (1908–1963) wove psychological and alchemical processes within her paintings that point the way to both personal and collective healing and the unmaking of patriarchal "social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women" (Millett, cited in Jensen, 2017: 39). Varo found a kindred spirit and established an important friendship with artist Leonora Carrington (1917–2011), who, like Varo, engaged with the tradition of Surrealism in Paris in the 1930s. Because the paintings of Varo and Carrington embody a keen awareness of patriarchal influences, ingenious use of symbolism, and courageous exploration of the unconscious and the Feminine, their images reveal the relevance of both Jungian psychology and alchemy to help shift gender constructions that dehumanize women and occlude both our humanity and the life-giving presence of the archetypal Feminine. We live in a time of paradox: In 2017, National Geographic published a special edition titled The Gender Revolution that provided a glossary including nonbinary gender terms; but in 2016 the first U.S. Black president left office, replaced in an election that heralded a desire among much of the U.S. population to return to misogynistic and racist values. Despite waves of feminist and civil rights movements in the Unites States, Black women still earn less than Black men, who earn less than white women, who earn less than white men for equivalent work (2017 U.S. Department of Labor Table). People with a female body, regardless of their gender identity or sexual orientation, remain at risk of sexual violence, with U.S. colleges now referred to as having a culture of rape. The #metoo movement has shined a strong light on the persistent predominance of men's sense of entitlement to a woman's body as a reward of power and position. Moreover, issues of racism and misogyny are international in scope. The United Nations Human Rights Council's working group on discrimination against women and girls reported that "the trends affecting the world of work and their impact on women required urgent attention from all. Without this, current gender inequalities and discrimination would not only be replicated but would be exacerbated" (Human Rights Council, 2020: para. 2). The #metoo movement is gaining ground internationally, unsilencing women across the globe. Sparked by racism, police brutality, and the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States, institutional racism is being recognized as a

worldwide issue, and protests have spread across countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Carol Gilligan, a feminist psychologist known for her work on gender equality, and David Richards, an attorney and professor of law at New York University, have defined patriarchy as an anthropological term denoting families or societies ruled by fathers. It sets up a hierarchy—a rule of priests—in which the priest, the hieros, is a father, pater. As an order of living, it elevates some men over other men and all men over women. (2009: 22) As argued in Alchemy, Jung, and Remedios Varo, patriarchy is an androcentric system of power and privilege. Psychologically, this system perpetuates a dynamic driven by the will to dominate and control that which is considered "other," from women, to people of color, to environmental resources. Suggested in Alchemy, Jung, and Remedios Varo is the idea that to include the oppressed, dispersing their number throughout the hierarchical ranks may be progress—however, it remains progress within the patriarchal paradigm. With the optimum well-being of individuals, communities, and cultures in mind, inclusion of the oppressed is not enough because it ignores the influence exerted by unconscious cultural complexes—the deeper problems with patriarchy out of which oppression continues to arise. As Marion Woodman pointed out, patriarchy is fundamentally driven by a lust for power over (1993). Having split mind from matter, it is invested in what James Hillman called delusional literalism, a perspective that objectifies nature and the female body, supporting the patriarchal power drive (2010: 192). As this work points out, these psychological factors operate in the world as a defense against vulnerability, fear of the unknown, and powerlessness—complexes projected onto women and the feminine.

In their lives and art, and through their friendship, Varo and Carrington did not seek inclusion but rather struggled to free themselves from the androcentric patriarchal paradigm and then to look at it through female eyes and to imagine fundamentally different and transformative ways of engaging with self, world, and cosmos. To do this, these artists dipped their paint brushes into a brew of Jungian psychology, mythology, mysticism, intellect, imagination, and the courage to confront the unconscious. The art of Varo and Carrington asks us to challenge the structure of the world in which we live at deeper levels: Rather than struggling to compete, the work of these artists illuminates the unmaking of patriarchal structures of identity that create inequality, the revivification of the relational and imaginal, and the transformation of the fear of the unknown and powerlessness into love and partnership. Although Varo did not label her work arts-based research, as analyzed in these pages, her paintings nestle nicely into this category. In this context, Varo's paintings are seen to create and convey meaning based in "sensory, emotional, perceptual, kinesthetic, embodied, and imaginal ways of knowing" (Leavy, 2017: 5). With these thoughts in mind, this study of Varo's work challenges the androcentric nature of alchemy and Jungian depth psychology. Our revolutionary intention is to look with new eyes at the psychological and sociocultural transformation evoked in Varo's work. New here is not only the application of Jungian concepts and methods to Varo's art and life, but also the application of Varo's painted perspectives to cultural complexes threaded into Jungian approaches to psychology and alchemy. This work has been crafted in keeping with Varo's frequent use of both weaving and the spiraling path as images of the integrative, wholistic, and cyclical nature of the Feminine principle in psychic and physical life. Part I focuses on Varo, seeing through her life, dreams, and painted images the artist's psychological and alchemical attempts to transform forces of repression and oppression. Part II circles back around to Varo's friendship with Leonora Carrington. Our amplifications here aim to extract the animating essence from a friendship that served for both women as a cauldron of transformation—an alchemical vessel forged from the similarities in their experiences of war and imprisonment and a shared interest in the creative and psychological uses of mysticism for female healing. Part II illuminates the art of Varo and Carrington as a symbolic challenge to misogyny in both psychology and Surrealism, focusing in particular on Varo's re-imagining of the myth of the Minotaur. We finger this thread again in Part III, where added

to our reflections on the artist's unraveling of the myth of the male hero is Carrington's vision of the Minotaur's daughter and a depth psychological look at the portrayal of the divine Feminine in two paintings by surrealist Wifredo Lam. In Part III, the Jungian idea of the transcendent function as the resolution of opposites is freed from the binary paradigm of patriarchy and engages the multifaceted constituency of an archetypally Feminine perspective. In imaginal dialogue, Varo's and Carrington's images engage with each other, as well as with images of the distorted, dismembered, and dislocated feminine and the wounded masculine bereft of the feminine in the work of Lam. In the movement toward the central image of an opus that holds the potential to unmake the patriarchy, the threads of Jungian psychology, alchemy, and Surrealism are woven throughout the fabric of the transformative response of the feminine to personal and collective wounding. <>

In Search of Being: The Fourth Way to Consciousness by G. I. Gurdjieff, edited by Stephen A. Grant [Shambhala Publications, 9781611800821]

Over one hundred years ago in Russia, G. I. Gurdjieff introduced a spiritual teaching of conscious evolution – a way of gnosis or 'knowledge of being' passed on from remote antiquity. Gurdjieff's early talks in Europe were published in the form of chronological fragments preserved by his close followers P. D. Ouspensky and Jeanne de Salzmann. Now in **In Search of Being** these teachings are presented as a comprehensive whole, covering a variety of subjects including states of consciousness, methods of self-study, spiritual work in groups, laws of the cosmos, and the universal symbol known as the Enneagram.

G. I. Gurdjieff (1866–1949) created an original system of self-transformation that reconciled the great mystical traditions, known as the 'Fourth Way' or 'the Work.' He initially gathered pupils in Moscow and in 1915 organized a study group in St. Petersburg that included P. D. Ouspensky, a leading figure in the spread of the teachings. Amid revolutionary turmoil in Russia, in 1917 he moved to the Caucasus and in 1922 established an institute for his work in France. The sources of **In Search of Being** stem from this early period.

Gurdjieff respected traditional religious practices, which he regarded as falling into three general categories or 'ways': the Way of the Fakir, related to mastery of the physical body; the Way of the Monk, based on faith and feeling; and the Way of the Yogi, which focuses on development of the mind. He presented his teaching as a 'Fourth Way' that integrates these three aspects into a single path of self-knowledge. The principles are laid out as a way of knowing and experiencing an awakened level of being that must be verified for oneself.

According to translator Stephen Grant in the foreword of **In Search of Being**, readers approaching Gurdjieff's ideas for the first time should be prepared for an iconoclastic challenge to the foundations of THE modern worldview – specifically, man's consciousness and free will, progress and civilization, and the significance of human life in the universe. Situating our solar system in the vastness of the Milky Way, the author introduces the idea of scale in defining finite and infinite worlds. He recalls the ancient theory of cosmoses and asserts that the fundamental laws governing phenomena are the same at all levels, that man is a microcosm representing the whole universe. Thus reality is not to be perceived by looking outside – a mystical vision of the earth or the heavens – but by turning inward and seeing through time and space within oneself. The ancient dictum 'know thyself' is invoked in its original sense in the Egyptian Temple – a call to open to consciousness, to see reality.

According to Grant in **IN SEARCH OF BEING**, Gurdjieff dismisses modern, supposedly 'scientific' knowledge as based on sense perception, and asserts that knowledge of reality can be learned only by a special kind of 'self-study' undertaken along with others. He begins by pointing out that realizing this possibility depends on one's own wish and effort; nobody else cares or can do this work for them. He then lays out the principles of the teaching – but not as revealed truth to be believed or obeyed. On the contrary, the first principle is that nothing is to be taken on faith. The Fourth Way is, above all, one of knowing – not of belief or obedience.

Gurdjieff offers this key advice for approaching his writing: "Do not take anything literally. Try simply to grasp the principle."

According to **IN SEARCH OF BEING**, the knowledge of man's relation to the universe has existed from ancient times. For the most part it is taken literally and, in this way, the inner content becomes lost. The Great Knowledge is handed on in succession from age to age, from people to people, from race to race. Truth is fixed by means of symbolical writings and legends, and is transmitted to the mass of people for preservation in the form of customs and ceremonies, in oral traditions, in memorials, in sacred art through the invisible quality in dance, music, sculpture and various rituals. After a certain time has elapsed, the centers of initiation die out one after the other, and the ancient knowledge departs through underground channels into the deep, hiding from the eyes of the seekers. The bearers of this knowledge also hide, becoming unknown to those around them. But they do not cease to exist. From time to time separate streams break through to the surface, showing that somewhere deep down in the interior, even today, there flows the powerful ancient stream of true knowledge of being.

To break through to this stream, to find it – this is the task and the aim of the search. For, having found it, a person can entrust himself boldly to the way by which he intends to go. On this way the seeker will not be entirely alone. At difficult moments he will receive support and guidance, for all who follow this way are connected by an uninterrupted chain. The theory of esotericism is that mankind consists of a large outer circle, embracing all human beings, and a small circle of instructed and understanding people at the center. Then knowledge, clothed in the form of a teaching corresponding to the conditions of time and place, becomes widely spread.

Every religion points to the existence of a common center of knowledge, and in every sacred book this knowledge is expressed, even though people do not wish to know it. In fact, this knowledge is far more accessible than one might suppose. No one is concealing anything; there is no secret whatsoever. But great labor and effort are necessary to acquire and transmit true knowledge, both of the person who gives and of the one who receives. And those who have this knowledge are doing everything in their power to share it with as many people as possible, always striving to help them approach it in a state prepared to receive the truth.

Anyone who wants knowledge must first himself make an initial effort to find and approach the source on his own. At the same time, however, readers need to understand that their independent efforts to attain anything of this sort cannot possibly succeed. We can only attain knowledge with the help of those who already possess it. One must learn from those who know.

In the chapters of **IN SEARCH OF BEING**, many things are explained schematically, including the laws of unity that are reflected in all phenomena. But when one uses words dealing with objective knowledge, with unity in diversity, attempts at literal understanding lead to delusion. Readers should not take anything literally, but try simply to grasp the principle, so that understanding becomes deeper and deeper. In this teaching the first principle is that nothing is to be taken on faith. One should believe nothing that cannot be verified for oneself. <>

THE GREAT GUIDE: WHAT DAVID HUME CAN TEACH US ABOUT BEING HUMAN AND LIVING WELL by Julian Baggini [Princeton University Press, 9780691205434]

Invaluable wisdom on living a good life from one of the Enlightenment's greatest philosophers

David Hume (1711–1776) is perhaps best known for his ideas about cause and effect and his criticisms of religion, but he is rarely thought of as a philosopher with practical wisdom to offer. Yet Hume's philosophy is grounded in an honest assessment of nature—human nature in particular. **THE GREAT GUIDE** is an engaging and eye-opening account of how Hume's thought should serve as the basis for a complete approach to life.

In this enthralling book, Julian Baggini masterfully interweaves biography with intellectual history and philosophy to give us a complete vision of Hume's guide to life. He follows Hume on his life's journey, literally walking in the great philosopher's footsteps as Baggini takes readers to the places that inspired Hume the most, from his family estate near the Scottish border to Paris, where, as an older man, he was warmly embraced by French society. Baggini shows how Hume put his philosophy into practice in a life that blended reason and passion, study and leisure, and relaxation and enjoyment.

THE GREAT GUIDE includes 145 Humean maxims for living well, on topics ranging from the meaning of success and the value of travel to friendship, facing death, identity, and the importance of leisure. This book shows how life is far richer with Hume as your guide.

Reviews

"Marvelous. This enlightening account of Hume's life and thought shows how philosophy's true worth is measured not on the strength of the argument but on the strength of the life that it inspires. Hume once said, 'A wise man proportions his belief to the evidence.' In the case of **THE GREAT GUIDE**, the evidence is clear: Julian Baggini is one of the most delightful writers of philosophy today."—John Kaag, author of *Sick Souls, Healthy Minds: How William James Can Save Your Life*

"A fascinating mix of biography, travelogue, and ideas. This book will enhance Baggini's reputation as one of the most elegant writers in the world of philosophy."—David Edmonds, author of *The Murder of Professor Schlick: The Rise and Fall of the Vienna Circle*

"This unique book is filled with useful maxims for everyday life, illuminating Hume's world while also adding a contemporary touch. Baggini's intermingling of life and philosophy, both past and present, makes for an engaging read."—Angela M. Coventry, author of *Hume: A Guide for the Perplexed*

"In this well-written and accessible book, Baggini shows how Hume's life illustrates and accords with his philosophical standpoints, deftly navigating a good many of the central themes of Hume's work."—Simon Blackburn, author of *What Do We Really Know? The Big Questions of Philosophy*

CONTENTS

Scotland's Hidden Gem

Standing at the top of Calton Hill, close to the center of Edinburgh, is Scotland's National Monument, built to commemorate the Scottish soldiers and sailors who died in the Napoleonic Wars. Modeled on the Parthenon in Athens, it ended up resembling its inspiration more than its designers intended.' While the Parthenon is half destroyed, the National Monument is only half constructed, after work was abandoned in 1829 due to lack of funds.

The monument's evocation of classical Greece in modern Scotland might at first seem incongruous. When Plato and Aristotle were laying down the foundations of Western philosophy, Scotland, like the rest of Britain, was still a preliterate society. However, by the early eighteenth century, it could proudly claim to be the successor of Athens as the philosophical capital of the world. Edinburgh was leading the European Enlightenment, rivaled only by Paris as an intellectual center. In 1757, David Hume, the greatest philosopher the city, Britain, and arguably even the world had ever known, said with some justification that the Scottish "shou'd really be the People most distinguish'd for literature in Europe."

The city produced two of the greatest thinkers of the modern era. One, the economist Adam Smith, is widely known and esteemed. The other, Hume, remains relatively obscure outside academia. Among philosophers, however, he is often celebrated as the greatest among their ranks of all-time. When thousands of academic philosophers were recently asked which non-living predecessor they most identified with, Hume came a clear first, ahead of Aristotle, Kant, and Wittgenstein.' Hume has become the postmortem victim of a phenomenon he himself described: "Learning has been as great a Loser by being shut up in Colleges and Cells, and secluded from the World and good Company." Hume is as adored in academe as he is unknown in the wider world.

Many scientists—not usually great fans of philosophy—also cite Hume as an influence. In a letter to Moritz Schlick, Einstein reports that he read Hume's Treatise "with eagerness and admiration shortly before finding relativity theory?' He goes so far as to say that "it is very well possible that without these philosophical studies I would not have arrived at the solution." Charles Darwin's notebooks also show he read several of Hume's works. Even the biologist Lewis Wolpert, who says philosophers are "very clever but have nothing useful to say whatsoever," makes an exception for Hume, admitting that at one stage he "fell in love" with him.

Not even his academic fans, however, sufficiently appreciate Hume as a practical philosopher. He is most known for his ideas about cause and effect, perception, and his criticisms of religion. People don't tend to pick up Hume because they want to know how to live. This is a great loss. Hume did spend a lot of time writing and thinking about often arcane metaphysical questions, but only because they were important for understanding human nature and our place in the world. "The most abstract speculations concerning human nature, however cold and unentertaining, become subservient to practical morality; and may render this latter science more correct in its precepts, and more persuasive in its exhortations."' For instance, cause and effect was not an abstract metaphysical issue for him but something that touched every moment of our daily experience. He never allowed himself to take intellectual flights of fancy, always grounding his ideas in experience,

which he called the "great guide of human life." Hume thus thought about everyday issues in the same way as he did about ultimate ones.

To see how Hume offers us a model of how to live, we need to look not only at his work but at his life. Everyone who knew Hume, with the exception of the paranoid and narcissistic Jean-Jacques Rousseau, spoke highly of him. When he spent three years in Paris in later life he was known as "le bon David," his company sought out by all the salonistes. Baron d'Holbach described him as "a great man, whose friendship, at least, I know to value as it deserves." Adam Smith described him as "approaching as nearly to the idea of a perfectly wise and virtuous man, as perhaps the nature of human frailty will permit."

Hume didn't just write about how to live—he modeled the good life. He was modest in his philosophical pretensions, advocating human sympathy as much as, if not more than, human rationality. He avoided hysterical condemnations of religion and superstition as well as overly optimistic praise for the power of science and rationality. Most of all, he never allowed his pursuit of learning and knowledge to get in the way of the softening pleasures of food, drink, company, and play. Hume exemplified a way of life that is gentle, reasonable, amiable: all the things public life now so rarely is.

What Hume said and did form equal parts of a harmonious whole, a life of the mind and body that stands as an inspiration to us all. I want to approach David Hume as a synoptic whole, a person whose philosophy touches every aspect of how he lived and who he was. To do that, I need to approach his life and work together. I have followed in Hume's biographical and sometimes geographical footsteps to show why we would be wise to follow in his philosophical ones too.

When we look at his life and person, we also understand better why Hume has not "crossed over" from academic preeminence to public acclaim. In short, he lacks the usual characteristics that give an intellectual mystique and appeal. He is not a tragic, romantic figure who died young, misunderstood, and unknown or unpopular. He was a genial, cheerful man who died loved and renowned. His ideas are far too sensible to shock or not obviously radical enough to capture our attention. His distaste for "enthusiasts"—by which he meant fanatics of any kind—made him too moderate to inspire zealotry in his admirers. These same qualities that made him a rounded, wise figure prevented him from becoming a cult one.

If ever there were a time in recent history to turn to Hume, now is surely it. The enthusiasts are on the rise, in the form of strongman political populists who assert the will of the people as though it were absolute and absolutely infallible. In more settled times, we could perhaps use a Nietzsche to shake us out of our bourgeois complacency, or entertain Platonic dreams of perfect, immortal forms. Now such philosophical excesses are harmful indulgences. Good, uncommon sense is needed more than ever.

I'm going to use a lot of Hume's own words, simply because I find them so elegantly crafted that I can't see how paraphrasing improves them. I know that many people find Hume difficult to read, largely because of his eighteenth-century style, with its long sentences and archaic vocabulary. But within these seemingly meandering and long-winded texts there are so many gems. In particular, Hume knew the importance of beginnings and endings. Take the first paragraph of *An Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals:*

> Disputes with men, pertinaciously obstinate in their principles, are, of all others, the most irksome; except, perhaps, those with persons, entirely disingenuous, who really do not believe the opinions they defend, but engage in the controversy, from affectation, from a spirit of opposition, or from a desire of showing wit and ingenuity, superior to the rest of

> mankind. The same blind adherence to their own arguments is to be expected in both; the same contempt of their antagonists; and the same passionate vehemence, in inforcing sophistry and falsehood. And as reasoning is not the source, whence either disputant derives his tenets; it is in vain to expect, that any logic, which speaks not to the affections, will ever engage him to embrace sounder principles.

If you can get beyond the use of words like "pertinaciously" (holding firmly to an opinion or a course of action), "whence," and "inforcing," you'll find a paragraph that is almost a miniessay, capturing so much that is true of the nature of obstinacy and why it is objectionable. It also tells you that Hume intends to avoid the vice. Hume's inquiries are sincere, not attempts to justify his own preexisting beliefs. The reader should approach his work in the same spirit of openness.

I've extracted the essence of the lessons we can learn from him as Humean maxims and aphorisms. From the above passage, for instance, we can distill the principle: When reason has nothing to do with why people hold their beliefs, reason is powerless to change them. Usually these are in my words, sometimes they are in Hume's. They are gathered together in the book's appendix. On some occasions they are negative lessons: things we can learn from Hume's mistakes and failings. The self-detracting and humble Hume would surely have approved of this. He once wrote that one of the things that makes a human superior to other animals is that he "corrects his mistakes; and makes his very errors profitable."' After giving his verdict on the character of Sir Robert Walpole, he even noted that "the impartial Reader, if any such there be; or Posterity, if such a Trifle can reach them, will best be able to correct my Mistakes."

All the maxims can be identified in the text by my use of a different font. A good one to start us on our guided journey comes directly from the pen of the man himself: "There are great Advantages, in travelling, & nothing serves more to remove Prejudices.' Hume traveled a great deal during his lifetime. Two of the most significant trips were both to France. They came at opposite ends of his career and had very different characters. As a young man, he went to sleepy La Flèche in the Loire valley to work in virtual solitude on his first major philosophical work, A Treatise of Human Nature. As an older man, his oeuvre complete, he spent a little over two years in bustling Paris, feted by the intelligentsia. These bookends, both symmetric and asymmetric at the same time, frame his life and work in a way that helps us to better understand both. They show that Hume speaks to us all, at every time of life, whether solitary or sociable, well-known or obscure, successful or struggling, young or old. Hume and his philosophy are companions for life.

***

How Hume anticipated Darwin

It's a great irony that many still believe Darwin's theory of evolution was a sudden, startling revelation rather than itself being the fruit of the evolution of ideas. Darwin found some key missing pieces and put the jigsaw together, but many other pieces had been discovered years before.

Most of these piece-finders were nineteenth century scientists, such as Charles Lyell, William Herbert, William Charles Wells and, of course, Alfred Russel Wallace, who came up with his own theory of evolution through natural selection independently of Darwin. But one had a very different background. The eighteenth century Scottish enlightenment philosopher David Hume had ideas that dovetailed so perfectly with evolutionary theory that reading him now, it seems remarkable he had no idea of evolution at all.

This is most evident in Hume's writings about what we now call evolutionary psychology, before there was even a theory of evolution. Without the specific insights of Darwin, Hume had a sense that certain principles of thought had developed over the course of human history in response to certain needs that emerged purely out of our biological and social situation.

For instance, in one striking passage he suggests that our ideals of beauty are linked to what we would now call, in evolutionary terms, fitness for survival. "'Tis certain, that a considerable part of the beauty of men, as well as of other animals, consists in such a conformation of members, as we find by experience to be attended with strength and agility, and to capacitate the creature for any action or exercise. Broad shoulders, a lank belly, firm joints, taper legs; all these are beautiful in our species, because they are signs of force and vigour, which being advantages we naturally sympathize with, they convey to the beholder a share of that satisfaction they produce in the possessor."

Our natural history even explains the emergence of moral norms, another idea which has become popular in recent years. Perhaps the clearest example of this is his answer to the question of why sexual promiscuity has been condemned more in women than men. Hume offered a version of an argument that many evolutionary psychologists use today. It starts with the observation that "Men are induc'd to labour for the maintenance and education of their children, by the persuasion that they are really their own; and therefore 'tis reasonable, and even necessary, to give them some security in this particular." As Hume delicately explains, "if we examine the structure of the human body, we shall find, that this security is very difficult to be attain'd on our part." The most efficient means that evolved to ensure this was for women themselves to internalise society's condemnation of infidelity. "In order, therefore, to impose a due restraint on the female sex, we must attach a peculiar degree of shame to their infidelity, above what arises merely from its injustice, and must bestow proportionable praises on their chastity."

Hume believed that the usefulness of norms of chastity for married women of childbearing age generates a general rule which "carries us beyond the original principle, and makes us extend the notions of modesty over the whole sex, from their earliest infancy to their extremest old-age and infirmity."

Another respect in which Hume anticipated Darwin was in his denial of a sharp distinction between humans and other animals. Quite remarkably for his time, he claimed that "no truth appears to me more evident, than that beasts are endow'd with thought and reason as well as men."

If it seems much less than obvious, that is probably because we are pretty sure that animals don't construct logical arguments. This misses the point. By saying animals reason, Hume is not so much raising them to the level of the highest philosophy but lowering the level of most human reasoning. Animals are more intelligent than we tend to think because humans are not as intelligent as we would like to think.

For Hume, we have to remember that most of our "reasoning" is little more than making assumptions based on past experience without any logical inference at all. Animals do the same. "Animals, as well as men learn many things from experience, and infer, that the same events will always follow from the same causes." Hume full accepts that animals "are not guided in these

inferences by reasoning" but "Neither are children: Neither are the generality of mankind, in their ordinary actions and conclusions: Neither are philosophers themselves, who, in all the active parts of life, are, in the main, the same with the vulgar, and are governed by the same maxims."

Although it is commonly believed that animals act on pure "instinct" whereas humans do not, for Hume even reason itself "is nothing but a wonderful and unintelligible instinct in our souls, which carries us along a certain train of ideas, and endows them with particular qualities, according to their particular situations and relations."

Hume also attributes emotions to animals, saying "love and hatred are common to the whole sensitive creation." Darwin himself wrote extensively on the same theme his *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals.* As with humans, these are transmitted from animal to animal. "Fear, anger, courage and other affections are frequently communicated from one animal to another, without their knowledge of that cause, which produc'd the original passion." Given that Hume believed such sympathy is the basis of morality in humankind, Hume suggested that this ability to sense the emotions of others gives animals some kind of primitive moral sense too.

Charles Darwin's notebooks also show he read several of Hume's works. We do not know whether they helped him to form his ideas. But even if they did not, he would have agreed with many of Hume's observations and arguments. Darwin took many of Hume's ideas further than the great Scot could have done, and vindicated them. <>

The Best of All Possible Worlds? Leibniz's Philosophical Optimism and Its Critics 1710-1755 by Hernán D. Caro [Series: Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, Brill, ISBN: 9789004218468]

The reign of philosophical optimism, or the doctrine of the 'best of all possible worlds' in modern European philosophy began in 1710 with the publication of Leibniz's Theodicy, about God's goodness and wisdom, divine and human freedom, and the meaning of evil. It ended on November 1, 1755 with the Lisbon Earthquake, which was followed by numerous attacks against optimism, starting with Voltaire's Poème sur le désastre de Lisbonne and Candide. The years between both events were intense. In this book, Hernán D. Caro offers the first comprehensive survey of the criticisms of optimism before the infamous earthquake, a time when the foundations of what has been called the 'debacle of the perfect world' were first laid.

CONTENTS

Excerpt: Two events that mark significant milestones in the development of early modern European philosophy determine the theoretical and the temporal frameworks of the present work. The first one is the publication of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz's *Theodicy* in 1710. This book is the only extensive philosophical work that the German polymath published during his lifetime. It contains the main theses and arguments of what began to be known already in the eighteenth century as 'optimism' (or – as I will also refer to it in the forthcoming chapters – 'philosophical optimism'): a rationalist theory about God's goodness and his wisdom, about divine and human freedom, the nature of the created world, and the origin and meaning of evil. This theory is often summarized with the famous – and frequently ill-interpreted – Leibnizian thesis that this world, despite the wickedness and suffering that it contains, is 'the best of all possible worlds'.

The second event occurred on November 1, 1755. On that day, an earthquake accompanied by a tsunami destroyed a great part of the city of Lisbon in Portugal, one of the richest, most splendid and important European port cities in the eighteenth century. According to a popular account in the history of ideas, philosophical optimism suffered its first and probably most definitive crisis as the result of the myriad of literary and philosophical attacks on the doctrine of the 'best world' published after the earthquake, beginning with Voltaire's *Poème sur le désastre de Lisbonne* (1756) and *Candide, ou l'optimisme* (1759). Modern historians have labelled the earthquake the "great upheaval" of optimism (Wolfgang Lütgert), the "cataclysm of enlightened Europe" (Horst Günther) or the "debacle of the perfect world" (Wolfgang Breidert). Others have talked about the "death of optimism" (Theodore Besterman), thus creating an aura of drama that surrounds the earthquake until the present day. According to them, the fundamental intellectual crisis of the idea that the world is the best among all possible worlds began with Voltaire's reactions, passing in the last decades of the eighteenth century through David Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (1779) and Immanuel Kant's treatise on the failure of philosophical theodicy, *Über das Misslingen aller philosophischen Versuche in der Theodizee* (1791), and reaching its philosophical climax, one century after the first publication of the *Theodicy*, in Arthur Schopenhauer's philosophy of pessimism, expounded, among others of his works, in *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (*The World as Will and Representation*, 1819). According to this 'standard picture' philosophical optimism enjoyed a rather untroubled predominance in the first half of the eighteenth century, a predominance which came to be questioned radically only after the Lisbon catastrophe.

Despite the widespread acceptance of this picture of the earthquake of 1755 as the ruin of optimism, a careful re-examination of the intellectual atmosphere succeeding the publication of the *Theodicy* makes it clear that the standard picture is problematic. In recent years scholars have shown not only that Leibniz's optimism was already the subject of philosophical debate in the first half of the eighteenth century, but also that early criticisms are both theoretically and historically relevant in view of a correct understanding of the development of Leibnizian thought. Unfortunately, these enquiries, in spite of their undisputable relevance, are either very general overviews of the early critiques (as is the case with Wolfgang Hübener's and Luca Fonnesu's papers), or more comprehensive reviews (as is the case with Stefan Lorenz's valuable report) that, nonetheless, seem to lose sight of the necessity to point out the common philosophical motivation, as well as the theoretical, thematic, and methodological motives and approaches shared by the early critics. This is central for any intellectual investigation that aims to be not only historically but also philosophically authoritative.

The main purpose of the present work is, therefore, to examine with as much theoretical attentiveness as possible the critical reaction to philosophical optimism in the first half of the

eighteenth century, or more exactly: between the publication of the *Theodicy* in 1710 and the Lisbon Earthquake in 1755. The question whether there were philosophically stimulating criticisms of optimism in that period is unproblematic: as the mentioned commentators have shown, there were indeed early critical reactions to optimism. This I will call in the next chapters the 'counter-optimist' reaction or 'counter-optimism'. The more particular objectives of this work, however, go quite a bit further. The next chapters will examine, on the one hand, the motivations, the nature, the consistency, and possible problems of the theses and arguments offered by selected and representative counter-optimist authors. On the other hand, this work examines the question whether early critiques share relevant theoretical interests and approaches, in order to establish to what extent it is possible to give the general concept of 'counter-optimism' a content that would allow us to recognize, categorize, and understand the struggle between optimism and its critics in the first half of the eighteenth century adequately.

This task is significant in several aspects. First, regarding the general study of the history of philosophical ideas in the first decades of that prolific and influential period that was the European eighteenth century; secondly, regarding the understanding of the nature of the early reception of Leibnizian rationalist thought, particularly the reception of philosophical optimism. And finally, in what concerns its theoretical significance, this work wants to examine an aspect of the way in which philosophical rationalism – an intellectual attitude that obviously survives until our days, and of which Leibniz was a major exponent – has come to be challenged.

Four early criticisms will be examined in the next chapters. Their authors are the German Lutheran theologians and philosophers Johann Frank Budde and Georg Christian Knoerr, who published in 1712 the first major criticism of optimism; the French Jesuit Louis-Bertrand Castel, reviewer of the *Theodicy* for the *Journal de Trévoux* in 1737 and coiner of the term 'optimism'; the influential German philosopher and theologian Christian August Crusius, whose critique of optimism is contained in his principal work on metaphysics, of the year 1745; and the private scholar Adolf Friedrich Reinhard, champion of a polemical contest on optimism of the Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin, held in 1755.

Of course, these are not the only authors who wrote against Leibnizian optimism in the chosen period. In 1741 the Wolffian philosopher Friedrich Christian Baumeister (1709–1785) published the *Historia doctrinae recentius controversae de mundo optimo* (1741), which can be called the first chronicle of 'counter-optimism', recording a number of works – mostly minor and long forgotten academic contributions – devoted to the condemnation of optimism. Yet, there are good reasons for choosing precisely the mentioned authors as case studies in this work. As we will see in the next chapters, these authors deliver the most extensive and/or comprehensive criticisms of optimism before the Lisbon Earthquake. Further, given their intellectual provenance, they represent very different fronts and genres from which optimism is challenged in the eighteenth century (from the academic theological dissertation by Budde and Knoerr to the prize-contest contribution by Reinhard, passing through Castel's critical review and Crusius's systematical treatise). And thirdly, either because of their philosophical standing (Budde, Crusius) or because of the context in which they criticize optimism (Castel, Reinhard), the criticisms by these authors were quite influential both within the demarcated period as well as after 1755.

Chapter 1 presents a general, analytical picture of philosophical optimism. We will see that the system of 'the best of all possible worlds' is an integral element of Leibnizian metaphysics, that follows directly from Leibniz's characteristic rationalist presuppositions. The first chapter examines the central theses of optimism, its main assumptions, and points out a most important and

problematic issue that will be present throughout the subsequent chapters: the question concerning the nature of divine freedom.

Chapters 2 to 5 survey the particular criticisms of the four authors mentioned above. These chapters will examine, on the one hand, the significant and problematic aspects of optimism that those critics underline, for example the attributes of Leibnizian eternal ideas, the scope of the Principle of Sufficient Reason, the theoretical solidity of optimism, the meaning of evil, the moral character the world, and, of course, the conflicts supposedly provoked by Leibniz's understanding of God's freedom of choice, among others. On the other hand, these central chapters will point out the problems of the critiques themselves. These primarily concern questions of the viability of the alternatives to Leibniz's belief in a rational God that the examined critics offer, as well as their own understanding of what it means that God is free. Two fundamental notions introduced in Chapter 1 that refer to Leibniz's and his critics' contradictory positions – namely the concepts of 'intellectualism' and 'voluntarism' – play a major role in the presentation and analysis carried out in Chapters 2 to 5.

Finally, Chapter 6 reflects on the general nature of the conflict between optimism and its early critics. After reviewing critically the main arguments against optimism, this chapter examines the problem of how to classify the conflict in order to give the vague term 'counter-optimism' a more concrete and philosophically enriching content. The mentioned concepts of 'intellectualism and 'voluntarism' are central for this discussion. The chapter ends by giving a brief look at some of the advantages and handicaps of Leibniz's optimism and the antagonist arguments of 'counter-optimism'.

***

The objective of this work was to examine the early critical reception of philosophical optimism – Leibniz's theory of 'the best of all possible worlds' – between 1710 and 1755. These years mark the publication of the first edition of the Theodicy, Leibniz's main work on optimism, and the Lisbon Earthquake on November 1, 1755. As was mentioned in the Introduction, it has been customary among an important number of historians of ideas to say that the earthquake represents the major turning point in the history of optimism in the eighteenth century. According to this 'standard picture', the accounts of the horrors of caused by the earthquake persuaded Voltaire to write two famous literary condemnations of optimism: the Poème sur le désastre de Lisbonne (1756) and, later, Candide ou l'optimisme (1759), which led to what has been described by different commentators as the major crisis and even the death of philosophical optimism.

The primordial questions around which the present investigation has taken shape were, on one side, in terms of the history of ideas, the problem of the veracity of that traditional picture of the development of optimism in the eighteenth century: Where there philosophically relevant criticisms of Leibniz's doctrine of the best of all possible worlds before Voltaire's famous reactions to the Earthquake? On the other, regarding the theoretical nature of those criticisms, the question of the motives, nature, and consistency of the arguments directed by early commentators against optimism: Which are the central tenets, main arguments, and possible theoretical problems of those early criticisms? Further, this work also pretended to identify the points that early critiques might have in common, and to find out to what extent the general concept used here to refer to those critiques, 'counter-optimism', could be given a philosophically stimulating content that might permit to identify and understand the particular nature of the conflict between optimism and its critics before 1755. As was explained in the Introduction, the first question has been examined in the past years by a number of commentators who have shown that there was indeed a rich reaction to optimism in the first decades after the publication of the Theodicy. Yet these studies are, despite their undeniable interest and importance not only for the present work, either quite brief and general reviews of the

state of affairs,1 or more extensive and detailed reports2 that, nevertheless, fail to give account of the theoretical motivation and common philosophical and theological concerns that early critics clearly share.

***

The present work has shown that there definitely was a philosophically interesting, critical reaction to Leibnizian optimism before the Lisbon Earthquake. The reaction was illustrated here through the examination of four representative criticisms by the German Lutheran theologians Johann Frank Budde and Georg Christian Knoerr, the French Jesuit Louis-Bertrand Castel, the philosopher and theologian Christian August Crusius, and Adolf Friedrich Reinhard, winner of the contest on optimism of the Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin for the earthquake-year 1755. It was shown that critical reaction by these authors has a very particular theoretical nature that does not seem to fit easily into classifications used traditionally to explain the development of early modern philosophy, such as the well-known schemata of 'rationalism vs. empiricism' and 'optimism vs. pessimism'. This made it clear that the conflict between Leibniz's optimism and its early critics differs not only from the more popular epistemological conflicts of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries – for which names like Descartes, Spinoza, Malebranche, Leibniz, Locke, Berkeley or Hume are representative – but also from the post-Lisbon reaction to the optimist idea that the world is the best possible, a reaction which seems to make more emphasis on the problem of evil, the moral character of the world, and the quality of human life than on the problem of divine freedom, and which, apart from Voltaire, is related to famous thinkers like Hume and Schopenhauer.

The 'very particular theoretical nature' of the early reaction to optimism was thus reviewed critically by appealing to the opposing concepts of 'intellectualism' and 'voluntarism', which were borrowed, with slight terminological modifications, from Steven Nadler's studies of the notions of God that dominated early modern thought. As it was explained a number of times in the past chapters, an intellectualist theory maintains, in a few words, that God acts following reasons. For intellectualism moral, i.e. rational beings act following the perceptions or representations provided to them by their own understanding. In God's case the reason which inclines him to act is always goodness, the representation of what is objectively good (or more exactly: the best), which he identifies by virtue of his understanding. The intellect or understanding is thus, so to speak, the guide of God's willing. By contrast, voluntarist accounts consider that God is essentially different from other rational beings. In fact, they consider, as Nadler writes, that "God transcends practical rationality altogether". Whereas for intellectualists God acts at all times for good reasons, voluntarists – in order to guarantee a rather radical conception of freedom of choice – maintain that "God's will is absolute and completely unmotivated by (logically) independent reasons" (Nadler 2011a: 525–6). The origin of this clash is clearly the concern of making sense of God's rationality and his freedom of choice. While intellectualists claim that rationality does not contradict or rule out freedom – moreover: that acting rationally is exactly what it means to act freely – voluntarists believe that maintaining that God acts for reasons amounts to setting limits for him and his actions, thus denying absolute freedom. Of course, a further problem is that voluntarists understand freedom in quite a different way to intellectualists: not as the capacity of acting according to good reason (or choosing the best alternative of action), but as complete indeterminacy and arbitrariness of choice.

A fundamental conclusion of this work is, therefore, that the contraposition intellectualism-voluntarism seems to provide us with an adequate theoretical instrument to explain the conflict between Leibniz's philosophical optimism and the examined critics. Against Leibniz's theory of divine agency – which in Chapter 1, for reasons there explained, was identified as an intellectualist

approach to rational moral agency – our four critics maintain usually one or both of two complementary attitudes:

i) They reject Leibniz's God either directly or through the rejection of tenets of Leibnizian metaphysics related organically to Leibniz's intellectualist concept of God. Some of these are Leibniz's theory of eternal truths, his understanding of the nature and scope of the Principle of Sufficient Reason, or his theory of hypothetical or moral necessity.

ii) They explicitly advocate an alternative concept of God, or more exactly, of divine freedom. This concept was shown for each one of the studied critics to correspond to a voluntarist approach to the divine nature.

Further, it was also clear from the previous examination that the concern about the supposed denial of divine freedom by optimism is the main motivation behind the particular criticisms of other aspects of Leibnizian metaphysics by the 'counter-optimists'.

***

The conclusions of this work regarding the characteristics of an early critical reaction to philosophical optimism are relevant in at least two distinct ways. These somewhat correspond to what Bernard Williams has described as the principal difference between 'the history of ideas' and the 'history of philosophy'. According to Williams, the first examines the meaning of a work, a doctrine, a philosophical argument or such in the moment it was exposed. As Williams puts it: "For the history of ideas, the question about a work what does it mean? is centrally the question what did it mean?" (Williams 2005: xiii). On the other hand, for the history of philosophy the central question about the meaning of a philosophical work or system is the question what does it mean (or could mean): "the history of philosophy is more concerned to relate a philosopher's conception to present problems" (Williams 2006: 256). Thus, regarding the history of the ideas that gave form to the early modern European intellectual debate, in this work it was shown that optimism was no unchallenged paradigm in the first half of the eighteenth century. The history of philosophical optimism appears to be intellectually richer as has been considered traditionally and to concern quite more than only the question whether the world is good or a complete disaster.

As I pointed out at the beginning of this section, it is possible to talk about a kind of customary, 'standard picture' of optimism among historians of ideas. According to it, Leibnizian optimism was a more or less unopposed philosophical paradigm regarding the explanation of evil in the world at the beginning of the eighteenth century in France and Germany. This paradigm supposedly experienced its first and most fatal blow immediately after the Lisbon Earthquake in 1755 and Voltaire's anti-optimist reaction above mentioned.

Interesting and informative as the 'standard picture' may be, there are other possible readings of the history of philosophical optimism. One of them has been made somewhat eminent in the last decades by the German philosopher Odo Marquard. Marquard maintains that the Lisbon Earthquake certainly provoked a crisis of the Leibnizian idea that this is the best of all possible worlds (as well as of Alexander Pope's literary motto "everything what is, is right", referred to in Chapters 3 and 5). Yet, the aftermath of the earthquake did not wholly destroy the optimistic paradigm or better, the particular rationalist approach to reality that underlies philosophical optimism. The idea of an essentially rational, comprehensible, and positive reality outlived the Lisbon disaster and Voltaire's criticisms, perhaps not in the traditional metaphysical form given to it by Leibniz, but in a more dynamic, history-aware form that survived at least until the end of the nineteenth century. As Marquard explains, the crisis of optimism led to "a kind of post-theistic theodicy with futurising fiber-optimism" (Marquard 2007: 97). This "futurising fiber-optimism" is best represented by the

Geschichtsphilosophie (or Philosophy of History – particularly prominent at the end of the eighteenth and during the nineteenth century, and for which famous names such as Bossuet, Turgot, Voltaire, Condorcet, Kant, Fichte, Hegel or Marx are representative) and by two theses intimately related to it: i) the world is understood not anymore as a creation of God but as creation of man (namely as a historical development), and ii) history is a process "with a problematical present but a good future". According to Marquard, the system of optimism survived the crisis caused by the earthquake in the form of "theodicy motives" typical for modern thought. These are called by Marquard the motives of "autonomisation" ("Autonomisierung"), the "good-making" of evil ("Malitätsbonisierung"), the motive of "compensation" ("Kompensation"), as well as the central notion of 'progress'.

This stimulating account cannot be examined in detail here. However, one thing must be clear: versions of the history of optimism which diverge from the 'standard picture' are possible. Thus, for the mentioned case, while the 'standard picture' preaches the decease of philosophical optimism after the catastrophe in Lisbon, Odo Marquard identifies the persistence of several motives of optimism – or more particularly, motives of a special form of theistic rationalism that underlies the system of the best – after 1755, defending the thesis of a kind of 'never-ending optimism' that survives the intellectual earthquake produced by Voltaire in a history-oriented form. Clearly, the standard theory of the end of optimism resulting from the Lisbon Earthquake and Marquard's proposal of a "futurising über-optimism", far from being contradictory, are in fact complementary theses, or more exactly, Marquard's thesis is a correction, an enriching clarification, of the 'standard picture'. The Lisbon Earthquake certainly provoked a profound and decisive crisis of optimism. However, the intellectual basis, the philosophical intention of the system of the best survived rather vigorously all through the following centuries.

The thesis defended in the present study can be judged as a further enriching reading of the history of optimism. In its perhaps most condensed form, this thesis reads: Leibnizian optimism was no unhampered paradigm in the first half of the eighteenth century in France and Germany. On the contrary, some of its central theories and principles – like the notion of a best possible world, the belief in the universal validity of rational principles like the Principle of Sufficient Reason, the idea of the necessarily positive moral character of creation, and first among all, the particular rationalist (and specifically: intellectualist) concept of God that underlies optimism – were challenged with arguments that are definitely worthy of attention and philosophical interest. Thus, while Marquard's idea of a survival of several motives of optimism straightens out the 'standard picture' regarding the period following the Lisbon Earthquake, the previous chapters show that the standard view of the history of optimism must also be enjoyed with some prudence concerning the period before the earthquake. Optimism was criticized before 1755. This critique was directed against central tenets of the doctrine that this is the best of all possible worlds. Even more interestingly, it was directed against the core of optimism's theoretical foundation: the idea of God as a rational being that acts according to reasons, of Leibniz's understanding of the way in which God works and what divine freedom means. As was explained in the previous chapter, the nature of the criticisms directed against optimism in the period between the publication of the Theodicy in 1710 and the Lisbon Earthquake of 1755 was very different to that of the critiques after the earthquake, which concerned mainly the moral character of the world supposedly created by an omnipotent and good God and the sufferings of mankind. Early criticisms are therefore interesting for themselves and constitute a further version of the development of the idea of the best world which complements both the 'standard picture' of the history of optimism and Marquard's theories.

With regard to the more specific history of the reception of Leibnizian thought, the thesis of a rather active 'counter-optimist' reaction at the beginning of the eighteenth century also shows that

the response of and the very intense debates around Leibniz's thought, both in France and Germany, were still richer than normally supposed. As has been pointed out here, the conflict between Leibnizian optimism and its first critics has a value for itself. This conflict was not only, and specially, not mainly, the struggle between those who think, in the light of the problem of evil, that the world is good and those who consider it a valley of tears. Nor was it a clash between the two epistemological attitudes that determine a considerable part of early modern philosophical polemics, rationalism and empiricism. Also, 'counter-optimism' does not seem to have been some skeptical attack on the belief in reason, in some way heir of the skeptical crisis, famously described by Richard Popkin, that is, allegedly, also representative for the early modern period. The battle between philosophical optimism and 'counter-optimism' was fundamentally a clash between two different approaches to the nature of God and, more particularly, to the problem of what it means to say that God is free. This quarrel has been described in this work with the aid of the less famous and nevertheless fundamental theoretical schema of 'intellectualism vs. voluntarism'. Of course, the fact that the conflict around optimism has such a clearly theological ingredient does not make the conflict less interesting for the history of modern philosophy. On the contrary, it shows that, if one looks a little deeper, that history can still contain surprises.

Concerning the theoretical interest of this work and the question that according to Bernard William's above mentioned distinction is the central question of the 'history of philosophy' (what does it mean – what does a philosophical work or a doctrine of the past mean nowadays?), the past chapters have sought to explain what kind of arguments were put forward against central tenets of Leibnizian metaphysics and particularly against Leibniz's understanding of rational, moral agency (in the present case: divine agency). Early criticisms of Leibnizian thought offer clear examples of the kind of problems that Leibniz's contemporaries had with basic notions and doctrines of the philosopher's rationalist worldview – and also of the kind of problems that such rationalist notions and doctrine might actually have or imply. These problematic or, at least, not self-evident aspects are, among others, the intellectualist notion of God, the doctrine of the universal validity of the Principle of Sufficient Reason, the theory of uncreated, unmodifiable eternal truths of principles of reason, the concept of hypothetical or moral necessity, the understanding of freedom as being "morally compelled by wisdom, [...] bound by the consideration of good" (T, §236/GP VI 258–9), etc. All these were shown by the examined critics to be knotty issues of Leibnizian philosophy. But what is more: they were also shown to be, for themselves, knotty aspects of a rationalist/intellectualist approach to reality. Thus, whether one assumes or rejects a theistic model, whether one accepts or not the reasons of the examined critics, their doubts point out important problems with which a rationalist philosophy – not only Leibniz's – must necessarily deal.

Further, it was also shown that the voluntarist alternative that early critics offer in order to 'save' divine freedom is in itself not less, and perhaps even more, problematic than the Leibnizian intellectualist approach. The theoretical relevance of an examination of so-called early 'counter-optimism' is therefore evident: the problems stressed by early critics of optimism seem to be of importance not only concerning the conflict between Leibniz and his detractors. Within a philosophical framework that pursues the examination of the pretensions and possibilities of rationalism, and includes the reference to approaches like the ones we have described here by using the categories of 'intellectualism' and 'voluntarism', the study of early counter-optimism is also relevant with regard to the quest of making sense of the idea of freedom. And it might be added: this is an enduring quest that goes beyond the temporal and theoretical limits of early modern philosophy. <>

The Enigma of Fichte's First Principles (Das Rätsel von Fichtes Grundsätzen) Herausgegeben von David W. Wood [Fichte-Studien, Brill Rodopi, 9789004459786]

Presenting new critical perspectives on J.G. Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre*, this volume of English articles by an international group of scholars addresses the topic of first principles in Fichte's writings. Especially discussed are the central text of his Jena period, the 1794/95 *Grundlage der gesammten Wissenschaftslehre,* as well as later versions like the *Wissenschaftslehre nova methodo* (1796-99) and the presentations of 1804 and 1805. Also included are new studies on the first principles of the particular sub-disciplines of Fichte's system, such as the doctrines of aesthetics, nature, right, ethics, and history.

INHALTSVERZEICHNIS / CONTENTS

Preface: Fichte's First Principles and the Total System of the *Wissenschaftslehre*

The main title of the present volume is: "The Enigma of Fichte's First Principles/Das Rätsel von Fichtes Grundsätzen." It is so titled because, surprisingly, even after more than two hundred years of research there still remains many unresolved issues regarding the first principles of Fichte's philosophical system. In the Preface to the *Grundlage der gesammten Wissenschaftslehre* (1794/95), Fichte had given some advice about his manner of philosophizing: "I find it especially important to recall that I will not say everything, but I want to leave something for my reader to think about. […] This is because I wish to promote independent thinking."[1] – This seems to be particularly the case for the topic of the *Grundsätze*: Fichte has not explicitly stated every single detail, but left to readers and scholars the task of exercising their own intellectual powers to more precisely determine the exact content, form, and scope of the first foundational principles of the *Wissenschaftslehre*. This foreword will give a brief overview of the contributing articles, as well as some general reflections on why the first scientific principles of Fichte's philosophy continue to remain enigmatic, including the necessity of seeing these first principles within the total system of the *Wissenschaftslehre*.

The majority of the articles in this volume are based on papers given at an international conference originally held from 27–28 April 2018 at the University of Leuven, Belgium. They all have been reworked, updated, and peer-reviewed for this publication. I wish to thank Karin de Boer and Elise Frketich for their help in co-organising the conference, Henny Blomme, Stephen Howard, Luciano Perulli, Pierpaolo Betti and Wai Lam Foo for their assistance, the Institute of Philosophy at the University of Leuven for supporting and hosting the conference, as well as all the participants for generously making their latest research available here in this issue. I also extend my sincere thanks to the other scholars who subsequently agreed to write a paper for this volume. Their further efforts have resulted in a much more comprehensive survey of the topic of first principles in Fichte's entire system. Finally, I am extremely grateful to the main editorial team of the *Fichte-Studien*: Marco Ivaldo, Alexander Schnell, Thomas Sören Hoffmann, Bryan-Joseph Planhof, and Martin Wilmer, for their expertise and help in bringing this volume to fruition, as well as the editorial staff at the publisher Brill, particularly during these difficult months of a global pandemic.

The first group of three articles in this volume treats the topic of first principles in the very earliest writings of Fichte, from approximately the period 1790–1794. The second group of articles examines specific questions relating to first principles in the technical presentations of the *Wissenschaftslehre*, especially the Jena *Grundlage* of 1794/95, as well as the 1804 Berlin and 1805 Erlangen versions. These specific questions concern the nature and status of the first principle and its connection to the second and third principles; the possibility of a change or rupture in the foundations of the *Wissenschaftslehre*, and the relation of the first principles to logic, reflection, existence, facticity, and the deduction of the categories. The third group of articles looks at the question of the first principles in the sub-disciplines of the *Wissenschaftslehre*, including the domains of aesthetics, right, ethics, history and nature. This volume 49 of the *Fichte-Studien* is then completed with five further contributions on various topics and three book reviews.

The First Scientific Principles of the *Wissenschaftslehre*

Why does the topic of Fichte's first principles remain so enigmatic? Apart from the pedagogical issue of readers and scholars having to exercise their own powers of thought, one could imagine that this foundational topic has been thoroughly exhausted by Fichte scholars, and that in the year 2021 there is now nothing more to say or discover. As this volume abundantly shows, that is not at all the case, a lot of fresh perspectives can be opened up and new discoveries made, while many apparent or real contradictions need to be overcome or properly addressed.

For example, we already arrive at a first enigma if we ask the simple questions: *when* and *where* exactly did Fichte discover the first foundational principle of his system? There is still no consensus on either the time or the place of this philosophical discovery. In the Prefaces to both the 1794 programmatic text *Über den Begriff der Wissenschaftslehre* and the 1794/95 *Grundlage*, Fichte himself characterizes the discovery as a form of sudden and fortunate inspiration: a *glücklichen Zufall* or *Glück* (fortune); however, he believes this discovery only occurred because of a serious and honest striving to raise philosophy to the level of a self-evident science. The suddenness is confirmed by the anecdotal evidence of Eduard Fichte and Henrik Steffens that it took place in a similar manner to Descartes's inspiration by a warm winter stove. In a personal letter to Böttiger written from Zurich, Switzerland, Fichte speaks of an important "discovery" (*Entdeckung*) that was made around the "end of autumn" 1793. Or again, in a December 1793 letter to Heinrich Stephani, Fichte speaks of a philosophical illumination that had happened roughly six weeks earlier: "The system must be rebuilt. And this is what I have been doing for the past six weeks or so. Come celebrate the harvest with me! I have discovered a new foundation, on the basis of which it will be easy to develop the whole of philosophy." This date of late 1793 is further supported by the Preface to the 1806 *Anweisung zum seligen Leben*, where Fichte speaks of his philosophy of religion being in continuous harmony with a main philosophical conception that had been bestowed upon him "thirteen years" previously, i.e. in the year 1793. Thus, based on these textual sources, one general tendency has been to date Fichte's "original insight" to Zurich in approximately October or November 1793. However, there is another tendency in the research that draws textual support from the *Second Introduction to the Wissenschaftslehre*, where Fichte points out that the initial idea for a first principle of philosophy had appeared to him already in Königsberg in Prussia in 1791. This was in conversations with the Kantian expositor Johann Friedrich Schulz, "with whom I once shared my then still vague idea of constructing philosophy in its entirety on the basis of the pure I." So, is the place and time of Fichte's philosophical discovery to be located in Zurich in late 1793, or two years earlier in Königsberg in 1791?

A second enigma concerns the *actual content* and *form* of the first foundational principle (*Grundsatz*). What exactly is the nature of the first principle, and did Fichte later change it? In the

1794/95 *Grundlage*, Fichte does not immediately state his first principle, but indicates that it has to be found:

> ### § 1 First, *absolutely unconditioned foundational principle*
> We have to *seek out* the absolutely first completely unconditioned foundational principle of all human knowledge. It cannot be *proven* or *determined*, if it is the absolutely first foundational principle.

In accordance with his commitment to independent thinking on the part of the reader, one can see that at the outset of this text Fichte does not passively present or explain his first principle, but rather sets out the conditions for it to appear: it has to be absolutely first, unconditioned, and can neither be determined nor proved. One could ask: by adopting such an unusual methodological approach, did Fichte likewise wish to stimulate in his readers a sudden philosophical "inspiration", or as he would later term it, an "intellectual intuition"? In sections § 2 and § 3 of the *Grundlage*, Fichte then presents two further absolutely foundational principles, which differ from the first insofar as they are conditioned with regard to their content (§ 2) or their form (§ 3). Much ink has been shed in trying to understand how these latter two foundational principles relate in turn to the first foundational principle.

As regards the content of this first foundational principle of § 1 of the *Grundlage*, scholars seem to understand it in different ways. Either as the "absolute I", or the "pure I", as "I am" or simply as the "I"; some consider it to be "I = I", "I am I", or again: the "I-hood" – the unity of the subject-object. Other scholars prefer a longer statement of the first principle, often the formulation found in point 10 of § 1 of the *Grundlage*: "the I originally posits its own being absolutely" (*Das Ich setzt ursprünglich schlechthin sein eigenes Sein*). Are all these different formulations valid as the first principle of the *Wissenschaftslehre*? Fichte had asked his readers to think for themselves and seek out the first foundational principle of his philosophy, a principle forming the basis for the entirety of human knowledge, and the result in the scholarship appears to be many different formulations that might very well contradict one another. Most strikingly, *several* different first principles are put forward, despite Fichte's insistence that there is *one*, and only one, first principle. Some scholars think this contradiction is only apparent, and can be resolved by viewing many of these formulations as variants of the same first principle of the "absolute I", expressed either in an abbreviated or more extended form. This would not be surprising, as Fichte himself said he would change his terminology and presentations, and perhaps this therefore holds for the multiple formulations of the first principle itself.

Yet Fichte also underscored that the first principle must be self-evident to all: "Since this proposition is supposed to be certain immediately and through itself, this can only mean that its content determines its form and its form determines its content." Are all the above formulations immediately certain and self-evident? Fichte was similarly clear as early as the 1794 *Recension des Aenesidemus* that in order to have a living foundation for his philosophy, the content of any true first principle had to be "real" or "material", and not abstract, formulaic or theoretical, like those found in the sciences of logic or mathematics. This is furthermore a distinction that can be easily overlooked – the classic and crucial Fichtean distinction between the outer letter (*Buchstabe*) and inner spirit or mind (*Geist*). That is to say, we have to clearly distinguish between the mere linguistic expression of the first principle that can be summarized in words or signs, and the actual living content or cognitive *act* to which these words refer: "The *Wissenschaftslehre* establishes a proposition (*Satz*) that has been thought and then expressed in words. Such a proposition corresponds to an action (*Handlung*) of the human mind."

Other researchers have argued that perhaps there is no one single *Grundsatz*, or even that Fichte's system is not foundational at all. This leads to the related problem or charge: the reason why there exists many variations of the first principle is because Fichte himself continually changed or modified it. That is to say, Fichte adopted a different first principle later in Berlin, because supposedly his early Jena system was not working. If this is the case, then there is a distinct rupture in the transcendental and scientific foundations of Fichte's system. Indeed, this alternative seems tempting and even obvious to many people, especially since many of the later Berlin writings clearly appeal to some kind of transcendent or religious foundation. Or can this contradiction between the early Jena and later Berlin presentations be satisfactorily resolved? In this regard, we have to remember that Fichte's primary philosophical method in the *Grundlage* is the *method of synthesis*, which concerns none other than the resolution of cognitive paradoxes or apparent contradictions. And of course: properly answering the question of a rupture in the foundations of the *Wissenschaftslehre* first of all involves correctly determining what exactly the first principle of the early Jena system is. If researchers choose the wrong first principle for the Jena period, then it will be hard to convincingly and accurately prove a rupture later on in Berlin. Hence, it is extremely necessary for Fichte scholarship to attain a more comprehensive consensus regarding the first principle in Fichte's chief scientific text in Jena, the 1794/95 *Grundlage der gesammten Wissenschaftslehre*. And that is exactly what many of the contributions in this volume have striven to do.

The Sub-Disciplines of the *Wissenschaftslehre*

The *Wissenschaftslehre* was not merely to have a rigorous foundation based on three interrelated first principles, but also to be a general system of the whole of human knowledge and of all the other specific sciences. In sum: "The *Wissenschaftslehre* is supposed to be the science of all the sciences." Moreover, Fichte was fully convinced of the *originality* of his philosophy: "this science is a *newly discovered* science whose very idea did not previously exist, and this can only be obtained and judged from the *Wissenschaftslehre* itself."

As early as the year 1795, after the publication of the *Grundlage* and the *Grundriss*, Fichte believed that he had now done enough for a competent reader to already have a perfectly sufficient overview of the method, ground, and scope of his system, and how this foundation could be further expanded upon:

> In the present book [*Grundlage*], as well as if one includes the text: *Grundrisse des Eigentümlichen der Wissenschaftslehre in Rücksicht auf das theoretische Vermögen*, I believe I have developed my system so far that every competent judge can completely have an overview of both the ground (*Grund*) and extent (*Umfang*) of the system, as well as the method (*Art*) as to how one can further build on the former.

In the 1794 *Über den Begriff der Wissenschaftslehre* Fichte had listed a number of disciplines that were to be built on the foundation of the more general *Wissenschaftslehre*. These projected sub-disciplines or particular sciences included: a theory of aesthetics, the philosophy of nature, a doctrine of God, a doctrine of right, and a theory of ethics, and again, "whose first foundational principles are not merely formal, but material." Each of these specific sub-disciplines of the *Wissenschaftslehre* should likewise have a first foundational principle. The *Wissenschaftslehre* is to provide the first principles to these other particular sub-disciplines, and they should in turn relate back to the first principles of the general *Wissenschaftslehre*. Hence, each of the foundational principles are to be viewed from *two* sides, from the side of the main foundational principle, and from the side of the specific sub-discipline:

In this respect the *Wissenschaftslehre* is supposed to provide all the sciences with their first principles. It follows that all those propositions which serve as first principles of the various

particular sciences are, at the same time, propositions indigenous to the *Wissenschaftslehre*. Thus, one and the same proposition has to be considered from two points of view: as a proposition contained within the *Wissenschaftslehre*, and also as a first principle standing at the pinnacle of some particular science.

Here we encounter further puzzling aspects of Fichte's system. How exactly does the first principle of the general *Wissenschaftslehre* relate in a twofold manner to the first principles of the particular sub-disciplines? And how many sub-disciplines or particular sciences are there? Similar to the first 1794 edition of *Über den Begriff*, the 1798/99 lectures on the *Wissenschaftslehre nova methodo* conclude with a classification of the different sub-disciplines of the system, including a theory of nature, a system of ethics, a doctrine of right, a philosophy of religion, as well as a theory of aesthetics. While the 1806 *Anweisung zum seligen Leben* seems to list five main disciplines in a hierarchical manner, with the conception of nature at the bottom and the system of science at the summit. To complicate matters, the second series of the 1804 lectures on the *Wissenschaftslehre* had argued that any five disciplines can in turn be split up into a further five, with the total result of "twenty-five" sub-disciplines, or what Fichte also terms as forms or "basic determinations of knowledge." Indeed, in the later Jena, Berlin and Erlangen periods Fichte gave presentations on other topics such as political theory, economics, the theory of the state, philosophy of history, theory of the scholar, the philosophy of mathematics, and so on. So does the *Wissenschaftslehre* have five, twenty-five, or even more sub-disciplines?

Not only is the number of sub-disciplines puzzling. Fichte maintained that once the entire system was completed it would return back to its original starting point. In other words, the architectonic of the system is supposedly circular:

> A first principle has been exhausted when a complete system has been erected upon it; that is, when the first principle necessarily leads to *all* the established propositions, and *all* the established propositions necessarily lead back in turn to it. […] When this science is established, it will be shown that this circular course (*Kreislauf*) is really completed, and the researcher will be left back precisely at the point from which he had started.

Thus, there is a beginning point and an endpoint to the *Wissenschaftslehre*, and when the system is exhausted one will see how they harmonize and that the researcher has circled back to the starting point. In the *Second Introduction*, Fichte stated that the start of the *Wissenschaftslehre* commences with the "intuition of the I", and it concludes with the "idea of the I". He stressed that the intuition and idea should not be confused with one another and are therefore distinct. But how exactly is the architectonic circular if these two points are distinct? This is another problematic issue concerning the intersection between the main foundational principle and the first principles of the sub-disciplines of the *Wissenschaftslehre*.

The Total System of the *Wissenschaftslehre*

In any event, Fichte viewed the general foundation, together with all its particular sub-disciplines, in which the researcher returns and circle backs to the original starting point, as constituting a philosophical whole, or as the *total system* of the *Wissenschaftslehre*. It was conceived as a scientific foundation for *all* human knowledge or as a modern philosophical encyclopaedia. In fact, in 1813 Fichte advertised a series of lectures at the University of Berlin with precisely this title: "Allgemeine wissenschaftliche Encyclopädie" (General Scientific Encyclopaedia).

But was this total encyclopaedic system of the *Wissenschaftslehre* ever completed? We have to remember, for Fichte the system attains completion (*Vollendung*) or is exhausted when it returns back to its starting point. That is the difference between the general *Wissenschaftslehre* and any of the particular sciences. Unlike the latter, the former can be completed:

> The *Wissenschaftslehre* therefore has absolute totality. In it, the One leads to the All, and the All to the One. It is the sole science that can be completed; accordingly, completion is one of its defining characteristics. All the other sciences are infinite and can never be completed; because they do not return back again to their first principle.

There is much debate on this point, both for and against the completion of the *Wissenschaftslehre*. With the publication of the *Grundlage des Naturrechts* in 1796/97 and the *Sittenlehre* in 1798 we do appear to have finished versions of at least two major sub-disciplines of the *Wissenschaftslehre* already by the year 1798. Notwithstanding, in the Preface to the second 1798 edition of *Über den Begriff*, Fichte admitted that his system was still far from complete, and there remained a lot of work to finish it: "For the completion of the system, there is still indescribably much to do. The ground has hardly been laid, and the building has scarcely begun." Significantly, however, in that same text he did dispense entirely with the "hypothetical classification of the *Wissenschaftslehre*", that is, with the above-mentioned projected sketch of the architectonical idea of its various sub-disciplines, because he now considered that its contents had been sufficiently incorporated into the *Grundlage* text.

In 1806, in the Preface to his chief text on the philosophy of religion, the *Anweisung zum seligen Leben, oder auch die Religionslehre*, Fichte declared that his late popular writings were perfectly in harmony with his earlier scientific system, and that the *Anweisung*should henceforth be viewed as the "summit" and "brightest point of light" of all his writings. If so, with this detailed study on the philosophy of religion had the *Wissenschaftslehre* finally become completed in 1806? Or was it now just philosophically transcendent? According to Fichte, his system remained fully immanent and transcendental, and never became transcendent or dogmatic. Many critics and current scholars disagree with him on this point. They see the later turn to popular writings on religion and faith around 1800 to be no longer compatible with a scientific and rational system of philosophy. However, if this interpretation of a later irreconcilable religious turn is correct, why did Fichte already state in the 1794/95 *Grundlage* that the *Wissenschaftslehre* is "not atheistic", and room must therefore be made in it for a philosophy of religion?

Whatever view we adopt regarding the question of continuity or rupture between the early and later presentations of the *Wissenschaftslehre*, we should be aware of another piece of advice that Fichte had given in the 1795 Preface to the *Grundlage*. In fact, it is so crucial, Fichte underscored it twice. And that is, however much we explicitly determine one element in the *Wissenschaftslehre* – and that of course holds for the first foundational principles and those of the sub-disciplines – no one specific element can be fully understood in isolation or on its own, but each and every element should additionally be viewed from the standpoint of the totality of the system:

> One has to explain from the context, and first procure an overview of the whole before precisely determining a single isolated proposition; this is a method that obviously presupposes goodwill to do justice to the system rather than the intention of only finding errors in it. […] I request future critics of this text to examine the whole, and to view every single thought from the viewpoint of the whole.

It is exceedingly difficult for a single scholar, let alone the ordinary interested reader, to have a thorough grasp of the entirety of Fichte's philosophical writings, including those on the different subs-disciplines of the *Wissenschaftslehre*. Hence, this was another of the central aims of this volume 49 of the *Fichte-Studien*, to help serious philosophical readers of the *Wissenschaftslehre* in the imposing task of obtaining a better insight into its total system. Naturally, this volume could not tackle all the above unresolved issues, nor can it provide an overview of every single facet or sub-discipline. Yet it does try to supply vital and up-to-date perspectives on some of the most relevant elements and key domains.

Eventually for Fichte, any final overview of the *Wissenschaftslehre* can only be generated by readers themselves, who need to freely employ their philosophical forces to attain such a perspective. Not simply their more analytic skills of judging, or the intellect, or understanding and reason, but also their powers of memory, their faculty of intuition, and lastly, the unifying and synthesising force of their own creative or productive imagination. This last point needs underscoring for it is often underappreciated. According to Fichte, it is not just poets and artists who need to utilise their creative imagination, but it is absolutely necessary for *philosophers* too, in order to grasp the central ideas of his system. Once this is done, the resulting insight hits the reader suddenly: "in a fortunate minute the sought-after image presents itself before the soul like a flash of lightning. […] It depends on this faculty [of the creative imagination] whether a person philosophizes with spirit or not. The *Wissenschaftslehre* is of such a nature that it cannot be communicated at all through the mere letter, but solely through the spirit. This is because for anyone who studies the *Wissenschaftslehre*, its foundational ideas (*Grund-Ideen*) have to be generated by the creative power of the imagination itself." Failing to deploy the totality of one's intellectual forces will therefore result in a one-sided and incomplete picture of this system: "The *Wissenschaftslehre* should exhaust the entire human being; hence, it can only be grasped with the totality of the human being's entire faculties – […] this is a truth that is very unpleasant to state and to hear, but it remains a truth nevertheless."

May this volume inspire future scholars to make even further explicit what Fichte left unsaid or only implicitly pointed to. For them to employ all their faculties to try and resolve more precisely many of these puzzling questions and enigmas concerning the first foundational principles of Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre* on the one hand, and the totality of his system on the other. <>

Illuminations by Philo of Alexandria: Selected Studies on Interpretation in Philo, Paul and the Revelation of John by Peder Borgen, edited by Torrey Seland [Studies in Philo of Alexandria, Brill, 9789004452763]

This volume contains a collection of 17 essays on Philo written by Peder Borgen between 1987 and 2018.

The first six studies deal with important issues in Philo's religious thought and social world, such as his views on Flaccus, prayers, and his eschatology. The next five essays illustrate how an understanding of Philo can contribute to the interpretation of Paul, especially his Letter to the Galatians. The final six studies deal with the importance of Philo's writings for the interpretation of the Revelation of John, a subject too rarely touched upon in recent scholarship.

CONTENTS

About Peder Borgen by Torrey Seland

Peder Borgen was born (1928) in Lillestrøm, a small town a few miles north of Oslo, Norway, where he still lives. In a Norwegian context, he is known for his roles in several settings; he has been a high profile Methodist, a preacher, a church-politician, and an ecumenist. Moreover, he was a university teacher and scholar in religious studies at the University of Bergen 1967-73, and the University of Trondheim 1973-93.1 In biblical research, he is especially known and respected as a prominent scholar of the Gospel of John and the learned Jewish theologian, politician, and philosopher Philo of Alexandria. He has also worked and published within the field of Lukan and Pauline studies.

His dissertation from 1966 (published in 1965) made him internationally known among New Testament scholars. In this study, he set out to investigate the concept of Manna in both the Gospel of John and the writings of Philo. He summarized the results thus: "In their expositions, both Philo ... and John ... paraphrased words from the Old Testament quotations and interwove them with fragments from the Haggadah about manna." He also argued that the expositions were presented according to a common homiletic pattern, a pattern used by Philo several times in his writings and in some Palestinian midrashim. The volume received immediate praise from many scholars, and the publication of a third edition in 2017 demonstrates the lasting value of this work. In the years to come, Borgen continued working on the Gospel of John, developing some issues from his dissertation but also expanding his focus and themes.

While working as an associate professor in Bergen, he initiated and directed a larger research project in Philo, this time applying the growing use of computer technology in the humanities, setting out to digitalize the works of Philo. The purpose of the project, in fact, was threefold: to produce a machine-readable text of Philo's works, to produce an Index Verborum, and to carry out an analysis of exegetical terminology and exegetical patterns of style in Philo's work. The project turned out to

be too ambitious to be finalized at that time, but the two first parts of it were completed some years later, after Borgen took up a full professorship in Trondheim in 1973. In the meantime, computer technology had also been developed far beyond the horizon of the 1970-ies. However, a lasting result of the Bergen/Trondheim project is that Philo's texts are now digitally available in a grammatically tagged (marked) form to anyone interested in reading his works on their computers, whether that be on a smartphone or a PC.

From the mid 1960-ies, Borgen continued to publish several studies on the Gospel of John,4 as well as on the works of Philo. Moreover, he expanded his field of interest to cover the Synoptic gospels, Paul, and the Revelation of John. He published several studies on Paul's letter to the Galatians and its inherent debate on circumcision, a debate he tried to illuminate by investigating similar issues in the works of Philo. Concerning Philo, three significant studies should be mentioned here; his introductory articles, issued in CRINT and ANRW in the mid-1980-ies, and his major book on Philo, published in 1997.

A couple of social issues and interests influenced his life but may also be said to have influenced his focus of research. First, as a Methodist, Borgenbelonged to a church minority group in Norway; as a member of a 'free church, he was a 'dissenter.' The Church of Norway, the majority church, was at this time a state-church, enjoying a relation to the state that represented several social and economic prerogatives. These issues came to affect him in many ways: he became a tireless advocate for the rights and demands of the free churches in a state-ecclesiastical environment, and in that context, he became an advocate for religious freedom in its broadest sense. It can be argued that this has also made him especially sensitive to the minority situations of both Philo of Alexandria and the early Christians.

Second, throughout his theological research, Borgen was interested in patterns; in 'patterns' found in the various texts, as well as in the social currents and life expressions he explored. This interest was at work whether he dealt with exegetical patterns in the texts of Philo of Alexandria, in the Gospel of John, or in other New Testament texts. He could of course, investigate the Gospel of John or the works of Philo in their own right. But more often Borgen was interested in exploring if there were patterns in Philo's use of Scriptures that could illuminate similar issues in the New Testament.

This interest in patterns is also evident in, and has inspired the selection of several of the essays chosen for the present volume, which—on the initiative of Borgen himself—carries the pertinent title Illuminations by Philo. Published between 1987 and 2018, Borgen himself has now made many of his articles, scattered among Festschriften, conference volumes and journals, more accessible to other scholars by gathering them in collected volumes.

This collection likewise brings together a selection of Borgen's previously published essays. They address themes not yet covered in previous collections, touching upon the hermeneutical value of Philo for studying the New Testament in particular. Some essays were also included because they represent essential studies in and by itself, e.g., the study of "'There Shall Come Forth a Man.' Reflections on Messianic Ideas in Philo."

It is the hope that these studies will introduce more readers to the work of Peder Borgen on both the New Testament and the value of drawing on the works of Philo in trying to understand early Christianity.

Introduction by David E. Aune

It is with distinct pleasure that I write this introduction to a collection of essays on aspects of Philo and the New Testament written by my mentor, colleague, and friend, Peder Borgen. I first met Peder and his wife Inger when my family and I arrived in Trondheim, Norway, for the academic year

1982-83 as a Fulbright Professor at the Religionsvitenskapelig Institutt (Department of Religious Studies) of the University of Trondheim. At that time Peder was professor of New Testament at the University of Trondheim.

Illuminations by Philo of Alexandria: Selected Studies on Interpretation in Philo, Paul and the Revelation of John contains a collection of seventeen essays, written by Peder Borgen between 1987 and 2018. The first section of six essays focuses on various important themes found in the writings of Philo of Alexandria (ca. 20 BCE to ca. 40 CE), and is entitled "Interpreted History, Application of a Biblical Event and an Eschatological Hope." The second section contains five essays on "Philo and Paul," while the third section contains six essays on "Philo and the Revelation of John."

The first section of six essays on aspects of the religious thought of Philo reveals that the author is not only interested in Philo's writings as a quarry for exploring aspects of the Hellenistic Jewish thought world that can be used to illuminate aspects of New Testament literature (as valid as that is), but equally interested in understanding the thought of Philo in and for itself. The author's long-standing interest in Philo of Alexandria is revealed in the doctoral dissertation that he wrote for the doctor theologiae at the University of Oslo, published as Bread from Heaven: An Exegetical Study of the Concept of Manna in the Gospel of John and the Writings of Philo. More than thirty years later, Borgen published a monograph focusing exclusively on Philo, entitled Philo of Alexandria, An Exegete for His Time. A few years later, with the assistance of two students, he published a Greek word index to the writings of Philo. Each of the six articles on aspects of Philo's thought exhibits a deep familiarity of the author with the writings of Philo as well as with the enormous range of secondary scholarship on Philo.

Interpreted History, Application of a Biblical Event and an Eschatological Hope

In the first of the six essays focusing on Philo, "Philo's Against Flaccus as Interpreted History;" Borgen investigates how Philo interprets historical events. Some scholars, like M.A. Kraus, have interpreted Against Flaccus as philosophical history, arguing that Philo's philosophical world view governs his interpretation of current historical events. Kraus, according to Borgen, correctly holds that the true knowledge of God is the highest goal in Philo's philosophy, though more emphasis should have been placed on God's close relationship and concern for the Jewish people. Others, like M. Meiser, have characterized Against Flaccus as a work of mimetic history, i.e., a historical work, similar to Hellenistic and Roman historical writings in which the author uses mimetic historiography, i.e., he claims to know the inner thoughts of his or her characters and attempts to influence the readers to think and act in particular ways. One weakness of Meiser's study is that he assumes that the addressees of Against Flaccus were non-Jews and therefore the terminology and ideas he uses are pagan. However, this is probably not true, since the supposed non-Jewish terminology permeates all Philo's writings. Nevertheless, Philo also wrote with non-Jews in mind. The author argues that the similarities between Against Flaccus and Philo's other writings supports the view that Philo has used Pentateuchal principles to interpret historical events.

In the second article in this section, "Application of and Commitment to the Laws of Moses: Observations on Philo's Treatise On the Embassy to Gaias," Borgen argues that there is a close relationship between the two Philonic treatises Against Flaccus and On the Embassy to Gaius on the one hand, and Philo's expository writings on the other. In this essay, the author seeks to provide a further analysis of On the Embassy to Gaius in order to demonstrate in more detail that in that document the Laws of Moses are interpreted in relation to the practices of Jewish communal life. To do so, Borgen follows the interpretive model formulated by B. Gerhardsson, consisting of the following elements: (a) inner tradition. The Jewish tradition had a vital inner life: the Torah-centric

relationship to "the only true God" with its different elements: faith, love, obedience, loyalty in emotions, thought, word, action towards God and a corresponding attitude to fellow human beings. (b) outer tradition: (1) verbal tradition, (2) behavioral tradition, (3) institutional tradition, (4) material tradition (sacred localities, etc.). Against this background the thesis of this essay is that Philo's treatise On the Embassy to Gaius should be classified with Philo's exegetical writings. The utilization of Gerhardsson's model reveals the variety of ways in which the Law of Moses and ancestral Jewish traditions find expression in the incorrectly entitled essay On the Embassy to Gaius. The expository application of the Laws of Moses to the conflict between the Jews of Alexandria and the emperor Gaius indicates that the treatise was directed toward both the Jewish communities and the non-Jewish circles which had links to the Jews and their various ways of interpreting the Law of Moses.

In the third essay on Philo, "Some Crime-and-Punishment Reports," Borgen examines the historical reports about four ancient rulers whose crimes and punishments are narrated in four texts, Flaccus in Philo Against Flaccus, Antioches Epiphanes in 2 Maccabees 4-9, Herod Agrippa in Acts 12:1-24, and Catullus in Josephus, Jewish War 7.437-54. All these texts reflect a religious world view in which divine justice is at work in historical events. Toward the beginning, Borgen asks whether these reports in which a series of crimes followed by divine punishment should be considered a genre. In Flaccus 1-96, the evil deeds of Flaccus against the Jews of Alexandria are narrated, while in the second half, 97-191 the punishment and execution of Flaccus are narrated. For Philo, divine justice preserved a mathematical counterbalance between crimes and punishments. Catullus, the governor of the Libyan region of Cyrene, killed groups of Jews and individual members of the Jewish community and was punished by an incurable disease. As in the case of Flaccus, the death of Catullus was proof that God in his providence inflicts justice. While Philo had focused on the conflict between Jews and non-Jews, Josephus draws a more complex picture by emphasizing conflicts within the Jewish community. While both Philo and Josephus wrote about historical events that they had actually experienced, both wrote historiography laced with interpretative elaborations and stereotypical traditions. The author of 2 Maccabees, like Philo and Josephus, used the basic structure of crime reports in a narrative form that led to the just punishment of Antiochus, who contracted a fatal illness. Antiochus, however, exhibited the extreme arrogance of a person who goes beyond the limit set for humans. Like the story of Catullus, the story of Antiochus Epiphanes links various conflicts between members of the Jewish community. The story of Antiochus contains interpreted historiography; in historical events, God is at work in his people punishing crimes and offering the faithful hope and blessing. Herod Agrippa in Acts 12:1-24 is another example of a king who committed evil acts against God's people, including the killing of James the brother of John, the arrest and imprisonment Peter and who allowed himself to take the place of God when the people shouted "The voice of a god not of a man" (Acts 12:22). He was immediately struck down by the angel of the Lord because he did not give God the glory (Acts 12:23). At the end of the essay, the author proposes that the Gospels of John and Mark should be examined to see if their structure has been influenced by these crime-and-punishment reports.

The fourth essay on Philo is entitled "Two Philonic Prayers and Their Contexts," an analysis of Who is the Heir of Divine Things (Her.) 24-29 and Against Flaccus (Flacc.) 170-75. This essay focuses on the neglected subject of prayer in Philo. The prayer of Abraham In Her. 24-29 formulated from the perspective of an outcast and exile, is an exposition of Gen 15:2 and is a paraphrase of biblical phrases. In form, the prayer exhibits many similarities to prayers in the Qumran Hodayot, indicating that both prayers share a common type of prayer which contains confessions of knowledge. Flaccus' prayer (Flacc.170-75) is the prayer of an excommunicated exile, a person who had tried to destroy the civil rights of the Jewish community. The setting of Abraham's prayer is that of a person standing before God, who addresses God as despotes (Lord) and the main theme is fear. The phrase "my

own nothingness" in the prayer is the proper attitude of a person meeting God. Abraham's prayer reflects a Niedrigkeitsdoxologie, a contrast between the lowliness of human beings and the greatness and sovereignty of God. Abraham presents himself as an outcast who possesses a homeland in the Lord, reflecting the precarious situation of the Jewish people in diaspora situations. The basic idea in the prayer of Flaccus is that the persecutor of God's people is punished. Flaccus' prayer, which resembles farewell prayers and speeches, contains a list of his crimes with their corresponding penalties. In both prayers the praying person is seen as in exile or banishment and both are based on the interpretation of Scripture.

In the fifth of the six essays on Philo in this section, "The Crossing of the Red Sea as Interpreted by Philo," subtitled Biblical Event—Liturgical Model—Cultural Application, Borgen begins by formulating a hermeneutical key for reading Philo: particular ordinances in the Jewish law coincide with universal cosmic principles. This means that Philo can interpret a given biblical text in as having as many as three different levels: (i) the concrete and specific level, (z) the level of cosmic and general principles, and (3) the level of the divine realm and beyond. The present study illustrates aspects of Philo's multilevel exegesis in his treatment of the crossing of the Red Sea in Exod 3:17-15:21, paraphrased three times in Philo's writings as an event in biblical history:

(1) Mos. 1:63-80 (where Moses is portrayed as a divinely authorized king), (2) Mos. 2:246-56 (where Moses' role as a prophetic is illustrated), (3) Vita (83), 85-89 (where the past event of the crossing of the sea is used as a model for a typological and liturgical reenactment when the Therapeutae during their sacred vigil form a choir of men and women and sing in harmony). In Ebr. he presents a deeper interpretation of the crossing of the sea, and the phrase "the king of Egypt" is spiritualized to mean "the boastful mind," the phrase retains a specific reference to the pagan impiety of the Egyptians. The crossing of the Red Sea then is interpreted by Philo on three levels: (1) as a concrete event of the past, (2) a typological event of the past used as a liturgical reenactment of the present, and (3) on a higher level as an event which indicates the conflict of principles and an ethical struggle in a pagan and Egyptian context.

The sixth and final essay in this section is "'There Shall Come Forth a Man: Reflections on Messianic Ideas in Philo." The first part of this study emphasizes particularism, universalism and eschatology in On the Life of Moses I and 11 and Exposition of the Law (consisting of seven individual treatises: (On the Creation [Op.] , On Abraham [Abr.], On Joseph [Jos.], On the Decalogue [Dec.], On the Special Laws [Spec.], On the Virtues [Virt.] and Rewards and Punishments [Praem]). "Eschatology" will be specifically defined as the realization of the universal aspect of Moses kingship and the universal role of the Hebrew nation. Against this background, in the second part of this study, the main Philonic messianic passages will be examined (Mos 2:89-91, Praem 91-97, and 163-72). The foundation of Jewish existence is based on universal God-given cosmic principles. Since these principles are made known in the specific laws of the Jewish nation, this nation is the center and head of all nations. All nations will hopefully recognize God's universal laws are revealed in the Laws of Moses and will therefore recognize the leading role of the Jewish nation. Philo's eschatology means that this universal claim for the Laws of Moses are effectuated in what Borgen calls "particularistic universalism." When Philo quotes Num 24:7 in Mos. 1:290 ("There shall come forth from you one day a man and he shall rule many nations"), Philo speaks of a Jewish emperor who will bring to full realization the universal call of Moses and the Jewish nation. Similarly, in a variety of passages in Philo's writings, we learn that he understands Moses' roles as legislator, high priest, and prophet, he understands that the specific laws of the Jewish nation are simultaneously the eternal principles of the universe. Focusing specifically on Mos. 1:289-90 where Philo summarizes Num 24:1-9, the universal aspect of Moses' kingship and the universal role of the Jewish people did not take place in

Moses' lifetime. Rather, these things will be accomplished in the future by "a man," i.e., the Messiah, a term Philo never used, who will be the ruler of many nations.

Philo and Paul

The first of the five essays on aspects of thought in Philo and Paul is entitled "Perspectives for Mission: Galatians 3:1-14 in Context." Paul, like other Jews, believed in one God the creator who has a special relationship with the Jewish nation and their sacred writings. In Galatians, written to Christians to whom Paul earlier preached the Gospel, the Apostle deals with the problem of how Gentiles can be included in the worship and service of this one God. The problem faced by Paul was the extent to which inner-Jewish traditions and observances be applied to the non-Jewish Christians of Galatia. The theme of the one God who is also the God of the Gentiles plays a central role in Gal 3:1-14, which speaks of the blessings of Abraham coming upon the Gentiles as well as the reception of the Spirit by faith. In Gal 3:2, Paul asks the Galatians if they have received the Spirit "through the works of the law" or "by the hearing of faith." The two themes of "faith" and "works of the law" are further elaborated in Gal 3:5-13. In v.13, the meaning of Christ is characterized as a "curse": "Christ has redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us, for it is written 'cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree'." When Paul was a persecutor of Christians before his conversion, he must have thought that Jesus had been crucified for his own crimes; later Paul came to believe that Christ died, not for his own sins, but for those of believers. For Paul there were two contrary jurisdictions in view, a Sinai jurisdiction with "works of the law" as a key phrase and an Abrahamic jurisdiction with "faith" as a key word. Paul argues that Christ is the eschatological fulfilment of the promises made to Abraham and his offspring (v. 16). Using a philological argument, Paul maintains that here "offspring" is a singular noun, understanding Christ as a collective person. While the blessing of Abraham and the reception of the Spirit are mentioned in Gal 3:14, several scholars have noted that in the OT, the promise of Abraham has no connection with the Spirit. Borgen asks whether the connection of the promise to Abraham and the giving of the Spirit is to be found in other Jewish writings. Turning to Philo, a near contemporary of Paul, Borgen examines Virt. 212-219, where Abraham, through divine inspiration left his native country in search of the untreated and Father of all things, thus connecting Abraham as a prophet with the Spirit.

In the second essay in this section, entitled "Openly Portrayed as Crucified: Some Observations on Gal 3:1-14," Borgen focuses on the theme of crucifixion. In Gal 3:1-14, the death of Christ seen in light of Sinaitic law, is a central feature. In Gal 3:13, Deut 21:22-23 is quoted, "cursed is everyone who has been hanged on a tree," i.e., crucifixion, a specific way of executing the death penalty, could be understood to mean that Jesus was a criminal who was cursed and executed for his own sins. However, Paul turns this interpretation around in three ways: (1) Christ became a curse for us, not for his own sins. (2) Rather than understanding Christ as a cursed person, it is us, not Christ, who are under the curse of the law. (3) As a curse for us, Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law. Paul argues that the fact that Christ was crucified as a cursed criminal made it evident that those who relied upon the Sinaitic law were themselves under a curse. Christ's death then marked the end of the Sinaitic law and the beginning of a new era when the blessing of Abraham would come to the Gentiles who could receive the promise of the Spirit (Gal 3:14). While it is common to understand "works of the law" as human self-achievement over against God's of grace, Recently, however, some scholars have rightly argued that "works of the law" refers to whether or not Paul's Gentile converts must accept the Jewish law in order to be truly called members of the people of God. The message that Jesus Christ had been executed as a criminal and law breaker meant to Paul that those who relied on the works of the law were under a curse (Gal 3:10) and Christ's death meant the end of the era of the Sinaitic law. The hearing with faith thus took place outside of the jurisdiction of the law and works done on that basis.

The third essay on Philo and Paul is entitled "Crucified for His Own Sins—Crucified for Our Sins: Observations on a Pauline Perspective." In his letters, Paul made it clear that Jesus was crucified, that is, executed as a criminal. When Paul says that "Christ died for our sins in accordance with the Scriptures" (1 Cor 15:3), the opposite view is presupposed, namely that he, in accordance with the law, died for his own sins or crimes, a view that Paul must have held before his conversion. That Christ was crucified for his own crimes is reflected in Gal 3:13: "Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree." Though Paul does not specify which crimes Jesus was thought to have committed, early Christian and rabbinic literature suggests that Christ was considered a magician whose healings and exorcisms were carried out on demons and evil spirits and he was also a false prophet who deceived his people. He even claimed the authority to forgive sins (Mark 2:2). The Christian Paul held the view that although Jesus was crucified as a criminal, he was actually innocent. In some of Paul's letters (e.g., Rom 1:18-32 and 7:7-8:4), he argues that though Christ was executed as a criminal by crucifixion, he was actually innocent, i.e., he did not die for his own crimes but rather for ours. Often in Paul and other ancient writers such as Philo, the authors use a "crime and punishment" structure to (e.g., Rom 1:22-31; Philo In Flaccum 170-75; Rev 18:4-8), serving to document the kind of divine punishment that was meted out by listing various types and crimes and punishments. This pattern is also reflected in Rom 1:18-32 and 7:7-8:4. Rom 1:18-32 contains a list of crimes and punishments, characterizing the crimes committed and the basis for the punishments. Rom 7:7-8:4 uses the conventional form of an autobiographical crime and punishment story with the "I" as a contrite wrongdoer who received a verdict.

The fourth essay is entitled "Some Hebrew and Pagan Features in Philo's and Paul's Interpretation of Hagar and Ishmael." A central problem in Paul's letter to the Galatians is whether Gentiles who confess Christ must become Jewish proselytes, undergo circumcision, and join the Jewish community under the law of Moses. In this situation how could Paul use the stories of Abraham, Hagar/Ishmael, and Sarah/Isaac in Gal 4:21-5:1 as a relevant argument? Apparently as an afterthought, Paul includes an allegorical interpretation of Abraham's two sons, Ishmael, and Isaac, one born in the course of nature, the other in fulfillment of a divine promise. A main issue in this study is: how can Paul's exegesis serve as a forceful argument against the Judaizers? Why was it important for Paul to include this section in his letter? In answering these and other questions, Borgen proposes exploring the Jewish expository traditions on Abraham, his wives and sons in Philo, who deals with the relevant biblical texts in the commentary series called "Allegory of the Laws" consisting of nine treatises. Throughout Philo's writings, he emphasizes that Hagar (whose name etymologically means "sojourning," i.e., on the borderline between foreigners and citizens) was a pagan Egyptian by birth, though her close relationship with Abraham and Sarah connects her closely with the Hebrew nation. The Judaizers in Galatia who argue that the Galatian converts must become Jewish proselytes and follow the Laws of Moses copy the pattern of Hagar. By identifying Hagar with Mt. Sinai in Gal 4:24-25, and by identifying Hagar as a slave and Sarah as a free woman, Paul makes two important arguments against the Judaizers: (1) They are making slave proselytes out of Gentile converts to Christianity, and (2) these slave proselytes were the result of the Law of Sinai. In Gal 4:21-31, Ishmael, like his mother Hagar, is associated with Jewish proselytes, so that in Paul's view, the Judaizers follow the model of Hagar and Ishmael. When the Judaizers claimed that Christian Gentiles had to be circumcised and become Jewish proselytes, then these proselytes became members of the Jewish nation who had Jerusalem as its religious and political center. Yet Paul rebuts the views of the Judaizers by sharply distinguishing between the Judaizers present Jerusalem, which is in slavery with her children, from the heavenly Jerusalem, which is free.

The fifth and final essay in this section is entitled "The Cross-National Church for Jews and Greeks." Paul took traditions and events out of their Jewish context and put them in various ethnic contexts, transforming Christianity from just part of a national religion into a religion with a cross-national

structure. The tension between national Judaism and cross-national Christianity was exhibited in many places in the Mediterranean world, including Galatia, and is reflected in several passages in Galatians including Gal 5:11: "If I am still preaching circumcision, why am I despite this fact still persecuted?" Paul's opponents claimed that circumcision involved the removal of passions and desires, a view frequently expressed in Philo. The idea that circumcision should follow and complete ethical circumcision is supported by Gal 3:3: "Having begun with the Spirit, are you now complete with the flesh?" and Gal 5:24: "They who belong to Christ have crucified the flesh together with the passions and desires." Crucifixion with Christ and not bodily crucifixion has removed the passions and desires. Philo supports this interpretation, cf. Migr. Abr. 92: receiving circumcision portrays the excision of pleasure and all passions. The role of circumcision, understood as removing pleasures and passions, has thus been transferred by Paul to the believer's crucifixion with Christ, excluding bodily circumcision itself. Paul's Judaizing opponents in Galatia claimed that Paul continued to preach and practice circumcision after he received his call to be an apostle. In their view, Paul wanted to be accepted by the Jewish community and to please men by continuing to advocate circumcision. However, his preaching did not imply that bodily circumcision ought to follow and thus his service to Christ meant conflict with the Jewish communities. Philo supports this view, since in his view, circumcision plays the role of removing the passions and desires (De migratione 92), a role which Paul interprets as crucifixion with Christ (Gal 5:24). Philo does criticize anti-circumcision Jews who understood circumcision having an ethical meaning (De migratione 86-93). Unlike them, Paul transferred the role of circumcision to another event, crucifixion with Christ. Paul's Judaizing opponents tried to persuade the Galatians to make bodily circumcision follow ethical circumcision.

The problem Paul faced in Jerusalem (Gal 2:1-10) was that in preaching the gospel of Christ, he drew on Jewish teaching about proselytes in which physical circumcision was an integral part. Paul's opponents, the Judaizers, claimed that Paul continued to preach circumcision after his call to be an apostle. In their view, Paul wanted to be accepted by the Jewish community and to please men. Paul objected to this misunderstanding. Christianity was not a nationally bound religious movement—it was cross-national. His preaching did not imply that bodily circumcision was required and thus his service to Christ meant conflict with the Jewish communities.

Philo and the Revelation of John

The first essay in this third and final section is "Heavenly Ascent in Philo." Borgen begins by asking the question, Should Philo's heavenly ascension texts be classified as Jewish or non-Jewish? If Jewish, can they be categorized as apocalyptic, rabbinic and hekhalot texts? Philo's views on heavenly ascension is a subject rarely discussed. Borgen begins by asking a methodological question: what is the proper approach to analyzing the theme of heavenly ascent in Philo's writings? Borgen's thesis is that both Jewish and non-Jewish elements are woven together in Philo's texts in varying degrees. In dependence on Jewish tradition, Philo comments on traditions about the assumptions of Enoch, Moses, and Elijah, meaning that they entered the heavenly realm without experiencing death. Both Jewish and non-Jewish elements could be woven together by Philo, an example of which is found in On the Creation 69-71, in which the concepts of "man," "the image of God" and "His likeness" are found together in an interpretation of Gen 1:26. Sometimes Philo presupposes a dichotomous anthropology in which the soul is connected with heaven and the body with earth, a view found in rabbinic and apocalyptic sources as well as in Platonic and Stoic traditions. The heavenly ascent of the soul is a natural development of such an anthropology. Philo can speak of his own inspired ascent to the heavenly region from where he views earthly matters making it possible for him to have special insight into the Law of Moses. According to Virt. 74, when Moses sings, he is critically examined by angels, who doubt that anyone in a corruptible body could, like the angels and heavenly bodies, sing in cosmic harmony. Celestial songs sung by angels appear prominently in apocalypses

and other Jewish writings. In heavenly ascents in Jewish writings, angels commonly serve as heavenly guides. In Judaism and in Philo, heavenly ascents can be viewed either positively or negatively, the latter conceptualized as an illegitimate invasion (Migr. Abr. 168-75). The story of the tower of Babel is interpreted by Philo as an invasion of heaven by means of false doctrines (Sown. 2:283-99). Philo also understands ascent to mean the right way of life for those who are wealthy and hold offices (Migr. Abr. 171-72). Philo also regards Moses' ascent as divine confirmation of his appointment as king. (Vit. Mos. 1.163). The theme of heavenly ascent in Philo provides an illuminating background for the New Testament, especially the Revelation of John.

The second essay in this section is entitled "Illegitimate Invasion and Proper Ascent: A Study of Passages in Philo's Writings and the Revelation of John." DJ. Halperin posits a dualistic contrast between two ways of approaching the divine realm, illegitimate invasion and proper ascent. Borgen, who has discussed this issue in Philo in the last essay, asks about the relationship between spiritual ascent by reason and the soul and the ascent by people and political leaders. The author also asks if there are enough similarities between Philo and the Book of Revelation to make fruitful comparisons between the two. When Philo says that souls ascend, what is the relationship between such spiritual or allegorical ascent and the particular people said to ascent in biblical stories and in history? While "souls" (i.e., the Jewish people) can ascend (Legat. 3-5), reason, i.e., the unaided human intellect, such as practiced by Sceptics and Epicureans, cannot ascend to God (Legat. 6). The invasion of heaven by the building of the tower of Babel is discussed by Philo (Conf. 111-14). The emperor Gaius Caligula, who regarded himself as a god (Legat. 116), was an illegitimate ruler who went beyond the normal limitations of human beings and illegitimately invaded the divine realm (Legat. 75). Philo's description of Gaius has many similarities to his discussion of the tower of Babel. In contrast to Gaius, Moses, Abraham, and other Israelite leaders legitimately ascended to the divine realm. Moses in particular is understood as a legitimate emperor unlike the counterfeit Gaius. Borgen then surveys relevant aspects of legitimate and illegitimate ascensions in Philo and the Book of Revelation, arguing that such comparisons are valid. In Revelation, the beast from the sea ascends to the divine realm as indicated by the blasphemous names it had on its heads (Rev 13a). For both Philo and John the seer, acts of prostration were part of the worship of the emperor and for both ascent took the form of conquest and victory. Similarly, there are striking instances of contrasting parallelism between Jesus, the Lamb, and the beasts. The large number of similarities and contrasts shows the relevance of comparing further points from John's Revelation and the writings of Philo.

The third essay in this section is entitled "Autobiographical Ascent Reports: Philo and John the Seer." Some scholars, like Samuel Sandmel, have emphasized the differences between Philo and Jewish apocalypses. Recently scholars have turned from the eschatological elements in apocalypses and emphasized aspects of heavenly ascents and other-worldly journeys found in apocalyptic texts. Philo not only discusses the ascents of biblical figures, but also reports his own ascents (cf. Spec. 3:1-6), which might illuminate John the Seers autobiographical visions and ascents. Borgen then presents a detailed examination of this report of Philo's own ascent to the heavenly bodies and his descent because of envies and cares connected with the Jewish politeia, experiences which gave him insight into the meaning of the Laws of Moses. Philo experienced these ascents in two different situations: one in which he felt himself at a distance from earthly troubles (Spec. 3:1-2), and another in which he felt himself deeply involved in the cares and troubles of the Jewish politeia (Spec. 3:3-6a). Borgen then focuses on discussing the nature of these civil cares and their historical context and discussed some of the historical troubles experienced by Jews inflicted on them by the Roman emperor Gaius from AD 38-41 as they struggled for civil rights. The problem of a troublesome historical situation and impending persecution also applies to the historical situation of the Book of Revelation. Borgen then turns to a discussion of the historical similarities and dissimilarities between Philo and John the Seer. Both Philo and John ascend to heaven through divine inspiration, though they picture their

ascents differently: Philo thinks of the experienced as being carried and as getting wings, while John sees an open door and is invited to come up. For both Philo and John, ascent serves a hermeneutical function: Philo receives a deeper insight into the Law of Moses, while John draws extensively on a wide variety of biblical texts which now apply to the Christian church. While John sharply critiques the practice of emperor worship, Philo similarly has a critique of the emperor Gaius and his claim to divinity.

The fourth essay in this section is entitled "Polemic in the Book of Revelation." Jews are referred to just twice in Revelation in two polemical statements that refer to a "synagogue of Satan" (2:9; 3:9), though there is disagreement among scholars whether the "Jews" referred to are Jews or Christians (if Christians, this reflects an inner Christian conflict). The Jewish character of Revelation is widely recognized, and Jerusalem plays an important part in the thoughtworld of the book, and the author uses Jewish traditions and perspectives in its geographical and political outlook. The same is true for the religious outlook of the book, since the polemic against pagan polytheistic cults follows Jewish traditions (e.g., 2:14, 20). The death of Jesus is fundamental for the outlook of Revelation that Christians constitute the true Judaism (no distinction is made in the book between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians). John has interpreted the Church as the inclusive eschatological Israel in which both Jews and Gentiles constitute the one people of God. A common characteristic of both the Synagogue and the Church is that both were organized groups that rejected the pagan polytheistic gods and their worship. John understood the Church to be cross-national, i.e., comprised of both Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians, yet the strong Jewish character of the book indicates that John and the communities he addressed had their base in Jewish milieus and had Jews as members. Why then was there a tension between the Synagogue and the Church? The reason is simply that both groups made exclusive claims to be the exclusive owner of Jewish traditions.

The fifth essay in this final section is entitled "Moses, Jesus and the Roman Emperor: Observations in Philo's Writings and the Revelation of John." Since recent scholarship has moved away from a one-sided emphasis on eschatology in apocalyptic literature in favor of a focus of other-worldly ascents and journeys, apocalyptic and mystical texts can be seen as overlapping, passages dealing with heavenly ascents in Philo's writings can be drawn into the discussion of apocalyptic texts. Philo, in Mos. 1.149--62, reports on Moses becoming a divine king. Philo's description of the area under the sovereignty of Moses partly overlaps with the area under the control of the Roman emperor. While the Roman emperor had control of the whole earth and the sea, Moses received the whole cosmos as his portion. In further defining God's partnership with Moses, according to Philo, Moses was called both god and king of the whole nation of Israel. Designating Moses as "god" probably means that Moses was thought to function as the vice-regent of God. The similarities between Moses' ascent and the claim to be divine of the Roman emperor Gaius suggests that giving the title of "god" to Moses implies that his status transcends that of a human king. To Philo, Gaius was a counterfeit god who sought to invade heaven in an illegitimate way. Just as God gave the whole cosmos to Moses (according to Philo), so God gave Jesus as the Lamb cosmic authority (Rev 5:13). Both Philo and John the Seer place Moses and Jesus next to God (Mos. 1.158; Rev 5:14). Both Moses (Mos. 1.158) and Jesus (Rev 5:6) are given certain charges; Moses is a paradigm and personification of the Law, while Jesus is enabled to open the seals of the scroll. Men paid homage to Gaius through prostration, just as in Revelation speaks of prostration before both God and the Lamb. In imperial court ceremonial, hymns were sung to the emperor, in Revelation hymns were sung to the beast from the sea (Rev 13:4).

The sixth and final essay in this section is entitled "Emperor Worship and Persecution in Philo's In Flaccum and De Legatione ad Gaium and the Revelation of John." In this essay, the author proposes

four theses which he substantiates throughout the essay: (1) Both Philo and John the Seer present the Roman emperor's claim to divinity as an illegitimate ascent to the heavenly sphere of the gods. (2) According to both Philo and John, the image of the emperor, the offering of sacrifices and the act of proskynesis are the main elements in worshipping the emperor. Everyone took part in emperor worship, except Jews and Christians whom the emperor punished with persecution and warfare. (3) According to both Philo and John, those who worship the emperor will suffer punishment and destruction. (4) While Philo does not reject the Roman empire, he does not share its positive view of that empire. Both Philo and John use parody in their critique of the Roman emperor. Philo argues that the Roman emperor's actions are completely contrary to the qualities and virtues of the gods and demi-gods with whom he identified himself. John used a different kind of parody, comparing the emperor with various animals such as snakes, dragons, and beasts. While the emperor Gaius authorized images and statues of himself which were used in sacrificial worship, before which worshippers sacrificed, prostrated themselves, and sang hymns. There is a dualism between those written in the book of life and the beasts which corresponds to the Jews and Alexandrians as interpreted by Philo. According to both Philo and John, the emperor's action against them was considered warfare. In Against Flaccus, Philo describes the fate of Flaccus as the evil actor responsible for the pogrom against Jews in Alexandria. Flaccus is punished with divine justice in a manner corresponding to his misdeeds. In Revelation, the idea of reversal is applied to the fate of Babylon whose punishment corresponds to her misdeeds (Rev 18:6-8). There is an important difference in the principle of justice and reversal between Philo and John the Seer. For Philo, the reversal take place in the life of Flaccus, an individual, while for John it applies to Babylon, which stands for Rome as the center of the empire. <>

Rome and the Near Eastern Kingdoms and Principalities, 44-31 BC: A Study of Political Relations during Civil War by Hendrikus A.M. van Wijlick [Series: Impact of Empire, Brill, 9789004441743]

The study presents a critical analysis of the political relations between Rome and Near Eastern kingdoms and principalities during the age of civil war from the death of Julius Caesar in 44 to Mark Antony's defeat at Actium in 31 BC. By examining each bilateral relationship separately, it argues that those relations were marked by a large degree of continuity with earlier periods. Circumstances connected to the civil war had only a limited impact on the interstate conduct of the period despite the effects that the strife had on Rome's domestic politics and the *res publica*. The ever-present rival Parthia and its external policies were more influential in steering the relations between Rome and Near Eastern powers.

CONTENTS

More than twenty-five years have passed now since the publication of **THE ROMAN NEAR EAST 31 BC–AD 337**, Fergus Millar's ground-breaking work on the social and political history of the Levant and its hinterland during the Principate and the successive period of the tetrarchs up until the death of Constantine. As prophesied by Michał Gawlikowski in a review at that time, the book still stands as the best analysis of Near Eastern society during the Roman imperial era, not only in that it exposes the variety in civilisation and culture across the entire region in question, but also in that it demonstrates how changes in political circumstances—more specifically Rome's eastward expansion and the interplay with the Parthians and (later) the Sassanians—influenced social life within the area. Pioneering as this work thus is, Millar chose not to trace Rome's presence in the Near East to its initial stages in the 60s BC, but instead to begin his analysis at the Battle of Actium, judging that a stretch of the chronological confines as far back as Pompey's intervention into the affairs in Syria "would have either taken up too much space or failed to reveal much about the Near East itself, or probably both". Undeniably, there is much to say in favour of a beginning in 31 BC, besides constraints of time and space: the end of a more than thirteen years lasting period of civil war—and prior to that intermittent flares of political unrest—the emergence of an emperor at the head of the Roman state and the ensuing changes in governance and political culture. Yet, given the fact that the work does not merely aim to unveil the geography, languages, social life and local identities of the region in question, but also the gradual progress of Roman direct rule over the Near East as well as the resultant political relations which Rome had with Parthia and minor kingdoms and principalities situated in the Levant and in the Euphrates catchment basins, a more elaborate discussion on the political events of this region prior to Actium would have been welcomed—even if in a separate publication. Moreover, I am unable to concur with Millar when he asserts that the period from Pompey's administrative reorganisation of the Near East up to Octavian's decisive victory in the civil war in 31 BC would fail to bring about relevant insights into the area in question. Indeed, if one has a predeliction for history of the *longue durée*, then an excursion into the Late Republic may not reveal much of the Near East. But if other more contingent aspects of the past are observed, such as political structures and interstate relations maintained by Rome—issues which Millar *does* consider

in his work—then it is hardly convincing that an appraisal of the source material for the outgoing years of the Republic would *not* unveil a great deal, in particular when one considers that the period of civil war from 44 until 31 was characterised by institutional novelties, deviant administrative practices—especially with regard to the provinces—armed clashes, and by an almost continuous movement of troops and military personnel. Reflecting on these developments should we not expect these changes to have had some effect on Rome's affairs in the Near East where the easternmost stretches of its empire were situated, on political relations with Near Eastern powers as well as on the administrative landscape of the region?

The present work aims to redress the balance somewhat, not by considering the entire political and interstate history of the Near East from Pompey up to Actium, but by providing a critical analysis of the political relations maintained by Rome on the one hand and Near Eastern kingdoms and principalities on the other hand during the era of civil conflict from 44 until 31. In the light of the developments just described it is to examine whether the relations between Rome and royal powers in the Near East—the area that more than once would function as the main stage of the civil war—also underwent any changes. In the field of cultural anthropology, processes marked by an overturn of existing structures, institutions and practices, as a result of which all those participating or involved in these changes enter a state of liminality, are attractive objects of study. Societal changes not infrequently are associated with an erosion of certainties, with strife and violence. The famed symbolic anthropologist Victor Turner once provided a justification for why analyses of such processes of change are invaluable:

> Conflict seems to bring fundamental aspects of society, normally overlaid by the customs and habits of daily intercourse, into frightening prominence. People have to take sides in terms of deeply entrenched moral imperatives and constraints, often against their own personal preferences. Choice is overborne by duty.

The present study will more than once provide the reader with instances whereby Near Eastern powers had to choose, confronted as they were by Roman internal discord, the origins of which lay far beyond most them both in physical distance and in responsibility. Thus far, no publication has specifically focused on Rome's interstate transactions with the Near East during the thirteen years that marked the transition from Republic to Principate. Although the French historian Maurice Sartre deals in his *opus magnum* with the political and socio-cultural history of the Levant from the era of Alexander the Great until the demise of the Palmyrene Empire in AD 273, his study is limited in geographical terms to the Levant, and does not deal, for example, with Egypt. Michael Sommer's monograph from 2005, on the other hand, is a cultural history of the Near East and as such does not specifically treat interstate relations in our period of civil war. Yet, even Adrian Sherwin-White and Richard Sullivan, who both *do* cover bilateral interactions in their respective works, have focused predominantly on the period prior to the civil war, and less so on the period of Roman civil war from 44 until 31—Sullivan mainly with reference to the dynastic relations in Asia Minor and the Near East. This disparity is odd given the fact that the evidence for Rome's affairs with foreign powers in the Near East during this era of civil strife is not necessarily inferior to the source material for Pompey's reorganisation of Asia Minor and the Levant. Even studies that do concentrate on the age of internal strife have neglected Rome's foreign affairs in the Near East.

***

The period of civil war between Caesar's assassination in 44 and the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra in the Battle of Actium in 31 did not merely see armed clashes between Roman armies, but also a proliferation in new administrative practices, especially following the enactment of the Triumvirate in November 43 by the *lex Titia*. It is well-known that during the period of the Triumvirate, many measures were taken against traditional custom. Not only were the proconsuls appointed by the

triumvirs themselves, they even controlled the selection of other magistrates to a large extent. Nevertheless, in spite of all the unlawful and despotic measures taken by the triumvirs, Fergus Millar has argued convincingly in a classic article from 1973 that "the Triumvirate was an institution which was created by a form of law, and which was superimposed on, but did not replace, the institutions of the *res publica*". Numerous indications in our extant source material indicate, for example, that the people's assemblies were still summoned for the passage of laws, or that the magistrates were not all directly appointed by the triumvirs. The administrative institutions of the *res publica* did thus not cease to function in the age of Roman civil war that lasted from 44 until 31. Whether a similar continuity can be detected in the conduct of Rome and Near Eastern kings and princes towards one another, is an issue that needs to be examined at present. In order to determine the extent to which this behaviour altered during the period of civil strife, the political interaction between Rome and Near Eastern rulers in the period from 44 until 31 shall be compared with the bilateral relations between these two parties in the period before this civil war. Such a comparative analysis, on the one hand from the perspective of the Near Eastern kingdoms and principalities (chapter 14) and on the other hand from the perspective of Rome (chapter 15), will shed light on the extent to which the conduct of each of the parties towards one another between 44 and 31 was typical of our period of civil war and, consequently, facilitate a better understanding of the civil war's impact on the political interaction between Rome and Near Eastern rulers. <>

Geheimnis und Verborgenes im Mittelalter: Funktion, Wirkung und Spannungsfelder von okkultem Wissen, verborgenen Räumen und magischen Gegenständen (Secrets and the Unseen in the Medieval World: The Functions and Effects of Occult Knowledge, Hidden Realms, and Magical Objects) edited by Stephan Conermann, Harald Wolter-von dem Knesebeck and Miriam Quiering [Series Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung. Beihefte, De Gruyter, 9783110697612]

This volume brings together the papers presented at the 17th symposium of the German Medievalist Society. The symposium was devoted to the topic of "the secret" as a constitutive social and cultural concept in the Middle Ages. The appearance, functions, and impact of secrets and their demarcation from the public domain are examined in essays from the fields of history, philosophy, theology, and literary and cultural studies.

INHALT

TRANSLATION CONTENTS

The secrets of the Atlantic and its exploration in the mirror of medieval Arabic sources
Gerda Brunnlechner
Deer riders and Albanian dogs as the key to the divine plan of creation?
Küstenlinienkartedes Me cià de Viladestes von 1413
Meaning and function of sacred spaces and objects
Anne Schaich
Sacred vessels under good closure
Cabinets and niches in the medieval churchroom
WilfriedE.Keil
Hidden for centuries
The cornerstone of the Maria Magdalene ChapelinBraunschweig
Esther-Luisa Schuster
The secret inventio of the relics of Godehard and Bernward of Hildesheim in the 12th century
Codicological Contributions: Of Book Locks and Paratextual Spaces
Marco Heiles
Secured secrets?
About book castles and what they hide
ClaudineMoulin
Cover and show
Strategiender paratextuellen‚Anderssichtbarkeit'inmittelalterlichen Handschriften
Claudia Wich-Reif
'Marginalized' exegesis
In-between spaces of Bibles, Bible commentaries tarenand Bible glosses
Mystery and hiddenness as a narrative means in literature
UrsulaSchaefer
Hidden in Old English
Lexical note on a cognitive metaphor
JaninaDillig
In the skin of the other
The game with identityin'Salman and Morolf'
Antonella Sciancalepore
Out in the Wild
ImaginingPublicand Secret IdentityThroughAnimalsand Nature in Old French Literature
Satu Heiland
The hidden view into the heart
Seeing and compassion in the 'Iwein' and 'Armen Heinrich' Hartmanns by Aue
Natacha Crocoll
Manipulation and Secrecy
Hidden Places of Lovein 'La Celestina'
Birgit Zacke
With the view of the voyeur
The staging of secrecy and intimacy in 'Brussels Tristan'409
Susanne Knaeble
Perspective of the secret of a merfaÿm
We seewhat in the 'Me lusine' of the Thuringian Ringoltingen
FlorianM. Schmid
(In^) Font and image
Stagings of the Mystery of Genealogyhandschriftenund

Stephan Conermann, Harald Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, Miriam Quiering

Zur Einleitung: Das Geheimnis als gesellschafts- und kulturkonstituierendes Konzept

Das Geheimnis ist gesellschafts- und kulturkonstituierend, seine „Erfindung" kann als „der Gründungsakt der Kultur" bzw. „Vorbedingung und Kennzeichen aller zivilisierten Formen menschlichen Zusammenlebens" bezeichnet werden.'

Das 17. Symposium des Mediavistenverbandes, das vom 19.-22. März 2017 in Bonn stattfand, behandelte das umfangreiche Themenfeld „Geheimnis und Verborgenes im Mittelalter". Aus den zahlreichen Vorträgen liegt nun eine Auswahl vor, in der Funktion und Bedeutung dieser gesellschaftsdurchdringenden Phänomene aus vielfältiger und multidisziplinärer Perspektive behandelt werden. Grenzen des Wissbaren grenzen das, was in einer Gesellschaft oder Kultur alle (voneinander) wissen, von denjenigen Wissensbeständen ab, die nur Wenigen vorbehalten sind. Das Geheimnis und diese Grenzen sind ebenso konstitutiv far Kulturen wie Grenzziehungen zu solchen Wissensbeständen, die erst durch menschliche Neugier erreichbar werden. Dazu zählen die Arkana der Natur, aber auch als (noch) nicht wissbar verstandene (letzte, religiöse) Dinge, die sich etwa in Offenbarungen nicht vollständig enthülien (etwa: die Beschaffenheit der jenseitigen Welt, die Attribute Gottes). Das Geheimnis urn den wahren Glauben und den göttlichen Schöpfungsplan steht in der Mitte aller religiöser Glaubensgemeinschaften und markiert ein zentrales Abgrenzungsmerkmal gegenüber Andersgläubigen. Gleichzeitig fungiert der eingeschränkte und oft nach Kriterien wie Geschlecht, Alter und Amt hierarchisierte Zugang zum göttlichen Geheimnis als Binnenstruktur der kirchlichen Glaubensgemeinschaft oder mystischer Verbünde. Rituale wie das Gottesurteil oder das Bußsakrament beschreiben Zugänge zum verborgenen Innern der Gläubigen und zum gOttlichen Willen und offenbaren ein Spannungsfeld zwischen kirchlicher Offentlichkeit und göttlichem Geheimnis. Darin bewegen sich auch Sprachen und Schriften, mit denen sakrales und verborgenes Wissen ausgedrückt oder verschleiert wird (etwa durch Geheimschriften). Ferner zeichnen sich Beschreibungen der im Mittelalter noch unbekannten oder gar der transzendenten Welt (etwa: der Atlantik oder der Garten Eden) durch fantasiereiche Mystifizierung aus, die Aufschluss über verbreitete Vorstellungen vom Diesseits und Jenseits geben kann. Verborgenes wiederum kann als Begriff und Phänomen auf den mit Geheimnis eng verbundenen Themenkreis der sakralen Räume und Objekte sowie ihrer jeweiligen Funktionen in den Gesellschaften bezogen werden, so etwa auf entzogene Räume in Kirchen oder auf Reliquien.

Dass in diesem Band Beiträge aus der Geschichte christlich geprägter Gesellschaften überwiegen, spiegelt die allgemeine Ausrichtung der deutschen Mediävistik wieder. Gleichzeitig reflektieren Artikel etwa aus der Islamwissenschaft die fort-schreitende interdisziplinäre Offnung des Mediävistenverbandes hin zu nicht-europäischen Kulturräumen. Bucher und Texte stellen den Grof3teil der behandelten Forschungsgegenstände dar. Schon die technische Beschaffenheit von Handschriften kann etwa durch Buchschlösser oder paratextuelle Randbotschaften auf verborgene oder geheime Inhalte hinweisen, zu denen Lesern nur eingeschränkter Zugang gewährt wurde. Die mit den Geheimnissen und dem Verborgenen einhergehenden Grenzen und Grenzziehungen, welche durch Freilegung des Geheimen durchbrochenen werden können, sowie die damit verbundenen Vorstellungen und Bildwelten in ihrer kultur- und gesellschaftskonstituierenden Dimension sind auch ein wiederkehrendes narratives Mittel in der in diesem Band behandelten Literatur. Als privat oder öffentlich gekennzeichnete Räume (etwa: Schlafgemächer, Hof, Wald), Maskierungen und verborgene Identität oder der Buick durchs Schlüsselloch sind häufig anzutreffende Manifestationen dieses Leitmotivs. Eliten als Verwalter und Produzenten des kultur- und gesellschaftskonstituierenden Geheimnisses können im jeweiligen Zentrum der Gesellschaft, etwa am Hof, oder in der Gestalt von Gelehrten erscheinen. Das von ihnen kontrollierte (Geheim-)Wissen kann dabei als Abgrenzungsmerkmal und Garant ihrer privilegierten Stellung fungieren - etwa bei der Geheimhaltung politischer Skandale oder auch medizinischer Rezepturen. So erlaubt es die Betrachtung frühhumanistischer Texte, Konflikte zwischen humanistischer Wahrheitssuche und sozialen Grenzen zu beobachten, die die Offenlegung oder das Weiterforschen (etwa bei Angelegenheiten adliger Familien oder im Kontext religiöser Vorstellungen) verbieten.

Gebündelt werden die Beiträge in fünf Themenfeldern: (1) Mystik und Kirche: Vom göttlichen Geheimnis, okkulten Wissen und mystifizierten Orten, (2) Bedeutung und Funktion sakraler Räume

und Gegenstände, (3) Kodikologische Beiträge: Von Buchschlössern und paratextuellen Zwischenräumen, (4) Geheimnis und Verborgenheit als narratives Mittel in der Literatur, (5) Wissen ist Macht: Geheimhaltung als strukturelles Merkmal von Bildungs- und Herrschereliten.

Mystik und Kirche: Vom giittlichen Geheimnis,okkulten Wissen und mystifizierten Orten

In kaum einem anderen Bereich der Gesellschaft wohnt dem Verborgenen eine so existenzielle Funktion inne wie in Religion und Mystik. Wo Fakten und Augenzeugenschaft hinter dem Glauben an das Unantastbare verschwinden, da nimmt das Geheimnis eine gemeinschafts- und ordnungskonstituierende Rolle ein. So erhalten göttliche Weisheit und mystisches Wissen erst durch ihre Unzugänglichkeit ihren charakteristischen Stellenwert, und auch die Kirchenordnung baut im Mittelalter auf einem eingeschränkten Zugang zum göttlichen Schöpfungsplan auf, dessen Schau oftmals nur auserwählten Würdeträgern vorbehalten bleibt. Am Anfang des Kapitels stehen die Beiträge von Wendelin KNOCH und Heinz SIEBURG, die mit dem Bußsakrament und dem Gottesurteil kirchliche Rituale beschreiben, mit deren Hilfe der verborgene Wille Gottes erkannt und auf Erden umgesetzt werden sollte. KNOCH zeichnet in seinem Beitrag eine kurze Geschichte des christlichen Bußsakraments, das sich von einem ursprünglich öffentlichen Bußverfahren, wie es Ps. Dionysius Aeropagita im 6. Jhd. beschreibt, über Petrus Lombardus (12. Jhd.), William von Auxerre (1150-1231) und Thomas von Aquin (13. Jhd.) zum intimen Akt zwischen Beichtvater und BaBer entwickelt, wie wir ihn auch heute noch kennen. Das Ausloten zwischen öffentlichem Bekenntnis und verborgener, innerer Bußhaltung offenbart dabei ein lebendiges Spannungsfeld im kirchlichen Diskurs.

In seinem Beitrag über mittelalterliche Gottesurteile erforscht Heinz SIEBURG anhand ausgewählter Beispiele aus der mittelhochdeutschen Literatur (, Tristan`; ‚Iweid; ‚Nibelungenlied'; ‚das heiße Eisen') Erscheinungsformen und Ausprägungen, Anwendungskontexte und -motivationen sowie vor allem die Legitimation der Ordale. Sein Fokus liegt dabei insbesondere auf der Feuer- und Bahrprobe. Während die Legitimation der Ordale im Frühmittelalter noch auf dem Ansinnen basierte, den Willen Gottes auf Erden durchzusetzen, werden die Gottesurteile im 13. Jahrhundert gerade dafür an den Pranger gestellt. Kritiker wie Thomas von Aquin beanstanden, dass der Mensch sich nicht anmaßen sollte, ein göttliches Eingreifen und damit eine Einsicht in das gtittliche Geheimnis zu erzwingen.

Felix PRAUTZSCH, Eugenio RIVERS!, Joanna GODLEWICZ-ADAMIEC und Pawel PIsZCZATOWSKI beschäftigen sich mit der narrativen Dimension des Geheimnisses in der Kirchengeschichte. Anhand der Uberlieferung über die Wundertaten des Apostels Andreas in der, Legenda aurea' analysiert Felix PRAUTZSCH die zentrale Bedeutung des Geheimen in dem Narrativ frühchristlicher Legendenerzählung. Aufbauend auf LUHMANNS Verständnis des Sakralen, das sich durch seine Mystifizierung gegen Trivialisierung schützt, beschreibt PRAUTZSCH das Geheimnis des Glaubens als gemeinschaftskonstituierendes und exklusives Merkmal der christlichen Glaubensgemeinschaft, mit dem sich diese von der Welt der Heiden abgrenzt. Im Vergleich mit der späteren Uberlieferung der Andreas-Legende im, Passional` stellt PRAUTZSCH fest, dass das Geheimnisvolle mit Ausbreitung des Christentums an Bedeutung verliert und in Form des als allgemein bekannt vorausgesetzten Glaubensbekenntnisses von der Gemeinschaft verinnerlicht wurde. In der späteren Rezeption der Legende, so PRAUTZSCH, schwenkt der Fokus daher auf das Wunder als Offenbarung des Geheimnisses.

Eugenio RIVERS' untersucht in seinem Beitrag Ekbert von Schönaus Vertiffentlichungen über die Visionen seiner Schwester Elisabeth und seine Kritik an den häretischen Lehren der ‚Katharee im 12. Jahrhundert. RIVERSI analysiert dabei historischkritisch das Spannungsfeld zwischen geheim und

öffentlich, in dem sich Ekberts Narrativ bewegt. Ekbert stellt dem christlichen öffentlichen Glauben die mystische Geheimniskrämerei der Häretiker gegenüber, deren unbestreitbares Bibelwissen Ekbert wegen der ihnen fehlenden discretio in gefährliche Irrlehren münden sah. Discredo bezeichnet das intellektuelle Vermögen, die Bibel richtig zu interpretieren und geht mit der hierarchischen Bildungslaufbahn in der katholischen Kirche einher. Als Abt des Benedektinerklosters Schönau stand es Ekbert zu, diese Fähigkeit fur sich zu beanspruchen — anders als seiner Schwester Elisabeth, deren Visionen vor ihrer Veröffentlichung von Ekbert geprüft und selektiert wurden. Dabei zeigt RIVERSI in seiner Analyse, wie die discretio in der Kirchengemeinschaft als strukturierendes Werkzeug zwischen öffentlichem Glauben und göttlichem Geheimnis wirkt.

Ausgehend von Paul numHs Ausführungen über die Sprachschöpfung und das ekstatische Erleben der Welt durch die Mystik, die sich in einer „logischen Paradoxie" der Unsagbarkeit mystischer Erkenntis manifestiere, stellen Joanna GODLEWICZ-ADAMIEC und Pawel PISZCZATOWSKI in einer differenzierten Analyse der Sprache der europäischen Mystik im Mittelalter das Spannungsfeld zwischen Ausdrucksvermögen und Unaussprechlichkeit göttlicher Geheimnisse dar. Dabei stellen sie die negative Theologie des Meister Eckhard, der Gott darüber definiert, was und wie er nicht sei und sich damit ganz und gar der Unaussprechlichkeit des göttlichen Geheimnis verschreibt, der bildhaften Sprache der Hildegard von Bingen gegenüber, die versucht, demselben Phänomen Ausdruck zu verleihen. Die Mystik als das Schauen göttlicher Geheimnisse, so GODLEWICZ-ADAMIEC und PISZCZATOWSKI, schwanke dabei stets zwischen der Grenze des Schweigens und visionärer Sprachschöpfung als Ausdruck des Unsagbaren.

Mit Vicky ZIEGLERS Beitrag zur arabischen Alchemie nehmen wir einen Exkurs in die islamische Mystik und die Sprache dieser Geheimwissenschaft vor. ZIEGLER analysiert das von der Forschung nosh unbeachtete Werk, Die Prahlerei der Stein& von Maslama ibn Qasim al-Qurtubi (gest. gegen 1008), das sich durch seine literarische Konstitution in Form der arabischen Rangstreitdichtung von anderen alchemischen Texten abhebt. In dem in Dialogform verfassten Werk diskutieren insgesamt 20 Mineralien in personifizierter Form, wer von ihnen das wertvollste und reinste und damit der begehrte, Stein der Weisen` sei. ZIEGLER bemerkt zum einen, dem Autor gelinge durch Rätsel, Decknamen, Allegorien und Zahlenmystik eine Verschleierung des Inhalts auch ohne die Verwendung einer Geheimschrift. Zum anderen verweist sie auf semantische Doppeldeutigkeiten, die verborgene Botschaften enthielten. So interpretiert sie die synthetische Herstellung von Gold als symbolische Darstellung der geläuterten Seele, was auf den okkulten Charakter des Werks hindeute.

Das Ende des Kapitels nehmen drei Beiträge über die mystifizierte Darstellung unbekannter Orte ein. Nach Manuel SCHWEMBACHERS Beitrag über den Garten Eden, beschreiben Andreas OBENAUS und Gerda BRUNNLECHNER einmal aus europäischer und einmal aus islamischer Perspektive die Mystifizierung unbekannter Ozeane. Manuel SCHWEMBACHER widmet sich in seinem Beitrag der spätmittelalterlichen Vorstellung vom irdischen Paradies — dem verborgenen Garten Eden, der als Bernrungspunkt von Himmel und Erde zwar auf der letzteren liegt, den Menschen jedoch in seiner göttlichen Verborgenheit prinzipiell unzugänglich ist. Gegenstand seiner Untersuchung bildet die legendenhafte Erzählung ‚Il viaggio dei tre monad al paradiso terrestre` — ‚Die Reise der drei Mönche zum Irdischen Paradies`, die in drei Varianten aus dem 15. und 16. Jahrhundert auf Latein und Italienisch überliefert ist. Im Vergleich zu anderen Mythen, welche das Reiseunterfangen zum verborgenen Paradies spätestens vor den Toren des Gartens scheitern Lassen, wird den drei Mönchen in zwei Varianten dieser Geschichte der Eintritt far eine begrenzte Zeit gewährt und sie beschreiben eindrucksvoll ihre fantastische Umgebung. Neben zu erwartenden paradiesischen Zuständen wie unvergänglicher Schönheit, einem beständig wunderbaren Klima und vor Reife strotzenden Früchten, verweist SCHWEMBACHER im Vergleich mit anderem Eden umrankenden Mythen auch auf das wiederkehrende Motiv eines sonderbaren Zeitsystems und

analysiert, Neuerscheinungen` wie den Jungbrunnen und den Auftrag, das Erlebte im Kloster niederzuschreiben, den die Manche für ihre Rückkehr von Enoch und Elias erhalten. Damit zeichnet er ein eindrucksvolles Bild spätmittelalterlicher Vorstellungen vom verborgenen Paradies, von Wundern und Göttlichkeit.

Andreas OBENAUS analysiert in seinem Beitrag die Beschreibung des Atlantiks in den Berichten islamischer Wissenschaftler aus der Zeit vom 8. bis in das 13. Jahrhundert. Dieser Ozean markierte im islamischen Kulturraum Lange die Grenze der bekannten Welt und taucht in der Literatur als ein geheimnisvoller, mythenumwobener Ort auf, an dem man Ruhestätten der Toten, Götterreiche oder Paradiese unterschiedlichster Art vermutete. In den Werken von al-Mas`ûdi (10. Jhd.) finden sich erste Andeutungen über eine weitere Erschließung des Ozeans und im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert erwähnen die westislamischen Geographen al-Idrisi und Ibn Sa'Id al-Magribi die Entdeckung neuer, bislang unbekannter Inseln im Atlantik und leisten damit Taut OBENAUS einen entscheidenden Beitrag zur Entmystifizierung des Ozeans. Trotzdem, argumentiert OBENAUS, kann auch in diesen Berichten entlang geographischer Daten, geheimnisvoller Inseln und mystischer Fabelwesen nicht immer zwischen Fakt und Fiktion unterschieden werden. Die Aura des Geheimnisvollen bleibt bis ins 13. Jahrhundert bestehen.

Gerda BRUNNLECHNER untersucht in ihrem Beitrag eine Küstenlinienkarte des Mecia de Viladestes von 1413, in der neben Meeren und Ländern auch mystische Fabelwesen und monströse Menschen eingezeichnet sind. Auf den historischen Kontext und geographischen Wissensstand des Autors verweisend erklärt BRUNNLECHNER verschiedene Interpretationsmöglichkeiten der fantastischen Wesen. Sie markieren auf der Karte unbekannte Territorien, können aber auch dazu dienen, zeitgenössische Vorstellungen über den verborgenen Schöpfungsplan Gottes zu erschließen. Aus ihrer historisch-kritischen Analyse schließt BRUNNLECHNER auf den Wunsch des zum Christentum konvertierten ehemaligen Juden Mecias nach religiöser Versöhnung der beiden Religionsgemeinschaften, der in seiner Karte Ausdruck finde.

Bedeutung und Funktion sakraler Räume und Gegenstände

Nachdem im ersten Kapitel des Bandes die mannigfaltige Funktion von Geheimnissen vor allem für die kirchliche Glaubensgemeinschaft behandelt worden ist, soil im folgenden Kapitel ein näherer Blick auf einen ihrer wichtigen Teilbereiche geworfen werden. Sakrale Räume und Gegenstände wie Reliquien bilden ein zentrales Element des rituellen Instrumentariums der Kirche im Mittelalter.

Zu Beginn steht Anne SCHAICHS Beitrag, die in einer differenzierten Analyse kirchlicher Nischenräume im Mittelalter erläutert, was aus welchem Grund in den verschiedenen Schränken, Wandnischen und Truhen aufbewahrt wurde. Neben sakralen Gegenständen, deren Aufbewahrungsort sich oft nach ihrem Gebrauch im Gottesdienst richtete, boten Kirchen im Mittelalter auch Raum für private Wertgegenstände und erfüllten damit die Funktion moderner Banken.

Wilfried KEIL und Esther-Luisa SCHUSTER fragen nach der Funktion solcher sakralen Gegenstände und Räume, deren ursprüngliche Bestimmung es war, für immer verborgen zu bleiben. So beschäftigt sich KEIL mit dem Grundstein der Maria-Magdalenen-Kapelle in Braunschweig, der 1955 beim Abriss des Gebäudes gefunden wurde und neben einer eingemeißelten Skulptur der Magdalena eine Inschrift aufweist, die auf das Jahr 1499 datiert ist. Angesichts der dauerhaften Verborgenheit und daraus resultierenden Unsichtbarkeit des Steins, fragt KEIL nach dessen Funktion und Adressaten. Er verweist dabei auf die ‚restringierte Präsenz' des Grundsteins, der seine Wirkung allein durch das Wissen urn seine Existenz entfalte - auch wenn er eigentlich abwesend erscheint. Weiter, argumentiert KEIL, beabsichtigten die Stifter mit der Verewigung ihrer Namen auf dem Grundstein, ein bis zum Tag des Jüngsten Gerichts überdauerndes Zeugnis ihrer guten Tat zu hinterlassen.

Esther-Luisa SCHUSTER beschreibt die geheimen Graboffnungen der Hildesheimer Bischöfe Godehard und Bernwald kurz vor ihrer Translation und Heiligsprechung im 12. Jahrhundert. Sie fragt dabei nach dem Beweggrund der geheimen Offnungen und verweist auf das platonische Verständnis von Vergessen, welches in der Wiedererinnerung einen Beweis für das Dasein des Vergessenen erkennt. Damit stelle das Offnen der Gräber, aus denen der für Reliquien symptomatische Wohlgeruch drang, gleich auf mehreren Ebenen eine Legitimation der Heiligsprechung dar und beschreibe somit weniger ein Geheimnis, das zur Geheimhaltung bestimmt ist, sondern vielmehr ein Mittel, urn die Rechtmäßigkeit der Heiligenverehrung festzustellen und den reibungslosen Ablauf der Reliquientranslation zu garantieren.

Kodikologische Beiträge: Von Buchschlossern und paratextuellen Zwischenräumen

Marco HEILES, Claudine MOULIN und Claudia WICH-REIF behandeln in diesem Kapitel die materielle Ebene diverser Handschriften und gehen der Frage nach, inwiefern diese eine Geheimhaltung bzw. einen eingeschränkten Zugang zu ihren Inhalten impliziert. HEILES betrachtet diese Frage im Hinblick auf Handschriften, die durch Buchschlösser verriegelt wurden. Am Beispiel von insgesamt 42 abschließbaren Büchern aus dem Mittelalter und der Frühen Neuzeit, die in einem Anhang aufgelistet sind, nimmt er eine differenzierte Analyse der Handschriften vor. Seine Auflistung enthält Amts- und Rechtsbücher, fachliterarische Sammelhandschriften, Stammbücher und Familienchroniken sowie andere kostbare Handschriften, wie beispielsweise Chorbücher. In der Analyse geht HEILES zunächst auf die technische Beschaffenheit und Unterschiede der Buchschlösser ein, urn dann aus Inhalt, Adressaten und Fundort der Werke verschiedene Funktionen der Buchschlösser abzuleiten. So argumentiert er, dass diese in den meisten Fällen sehr einfach zu öffnen seien und daher primär eine symbolische Funktion einnähmen, indem sie den Inhalt als geheim, mystisch oder auch besonders wertvoll markieren. Daneben greift HEILES auch Funktionen wie den Schutz vor Nachträgen oder Verschmutzung auf.

Claudin MOULIN ermittelt Funktionen paratextueller Schreibstrategien und die Anwendung von Geheimschriften in der althochdeutschen Textüberlieferung (700-1050). Dabei stellt MOULIN fest, dass die Glossen weniger eine Geheimhaltung, sondern vielmehr eine, Anderssichtbarkeit beabsichtigen, indem sie sich durch ihre materielle Differenz vom Haupttext abheben oder in den Hintergrund zurücktreten. Das Glossieren begreift MOULIN dabei als lebendigen Prozess, in welchem ein Spannungsfeld zwischen Sichtbarem und Unsichtbarem erzeugt wird, in dem das hintergründig oder durch Geheimschrift vermeintlich Verborgene nicht zwangsläufig auch Geheimes beschreibt, sondern vielmehr von den materiellen Fertigkeiten und der schreibtechnischen Tradition intellektueller Eliten zeugt, die sich bis heute in Redewendungen wie „zwischen den Zeilen" oder „am Rande bemerkt" manifestieren.

Claudia WICH-REIF widmet sich in einer umfassenden Untersuchung des, Essener Evangeliars` (vermeintlich) verborgenem Wissen in der Bibelexegese. Das, Essener Evangeliar` eignet sich Taut WICH-REIF durch seine vielschichtige und mehrsprachige Rezeption besonders, urn die paratextuellen Zwischenräume aufzuzeigen, in denen sich das, Offensichtliche` und das zunächst ‚Unsichtbare entfalten. Durch eine genaue Erfassung und eine sorgfältige Analyse der Kommentare und Glossen des Evangeliars stellt sie dar, welches Wissen den Rezepienten offen zugänglich war und an welchen Stellen es sich erst durch entsprechende sprachliche und technische Fachkenntnisse erschließen ließ

Geheimnis und Verborgenheit als narratives Mittel in der Literatur

Geheimnis und Verborgenheit sind wiederkehrende Themen und Leitmotive in der Literatur des Mittelalters. In den Spannungsfeldern, sichtbar - verborgen' /, öffentlich - geheim` werden Identität

und Charakter der Protagonisten geformt, komplexe Handlungsstränge gesponnen und Leser zu Eingeweihten gemacht. Dichotome Schemata wie das von öffentlichen und privaten Räumen markieren dabei wiederkehrende erzählerische Mittel. Ferner zeigen einige AutorInnen, wie gerade das NichtAuflösen eines Geheimnisses eine narrative Lösung für den Umgang mit heiklen gesellschaftlichen Diskursen bieten kann.

Die vorliegenden Beiträge nähern sich diesem umfangreichen Themengebiet aus verschiedenen Perspektiven und anhand von Quellen aus verschiedenen Genres. Neben Texten aus Lyrik, Epik, fiktionaler Prosa und Drama findet man mit Anna HOLLENBACHS Beitrag auch die narratologische Betrachtung einer Chronik.

Den Anfang des Kapitels macht Ursula SCHAEFER mit einem lexikalischen Beitrag. Darin untersucht sie einige Begriffe aus dem Altenglischen, die, Verborgenes` bezeichnen und Rückschlüsse auf kognitive Konzepte und Zusammenhänge ihrer Zeit zulassen. Nachdem sie analysiert hat, wie das kognitive Abstractum, Verstehen` auf den Sinn des, Sehens` projiziert wird, arbeitet sie heraus, inwiefern diese Projektion vom Sinn des, Hörens' auf das ‚Sehen` verlagert wurde. Im Mittelpunkt ihrer Untersuchung stehen die lyrischen Werke, Beowulf`, Maxims I' und ein Rätsel, sowie die darin vorkommenden Termini dyrne und digol, die beide, verborgen/geheirn` bezeichnen, und die ihnen gegenüberstehenden Begriffe undyrne, gesyne und sweotol, die SCHAEFER mit, sichtbar` übersetzt. Die Verwendung der Begriffe und die ihnen zu Grunde liegende Semantik zeige, taut SCHAEFER, dass sie zwar durchweg, Verborgenes' beschreiben, dies jedoch nur in wenigen Fällen geheim gehaltenes Wissen meint, sondern sich die Bedeutungen in einem viel weiteren kognitiven Rahmen von, Verstehed und, Erkennen` bewegen. Dass die Anzahl von Begriffen, die, Verborgenes` beschreiben, sich im Laufe der sprachlichen Entwicklung des Mittelenglischen deutlich reduzierte, führt SCHAEFER zu der Annahme, es habe sich mit dem lexikalischen auch ein kognitiver Wandel in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft vollzogen.

Janina DILLIG, Antonella SCIANCALEPORE und Satu HEILAND behandeln in ihren Beiträgen die narrative Inszenierung der Identitätswerdung in ausgewählten Prosatexten aus der deutschen und französischen Literatur des Mittelalters. Janina DILLIG analysiert dazu die Geheimhaltung und Transformation von Identität in der mittelhochdeutschen Erzählung, Salman und Morolf` aus dem späten 12. Jahrhundert. In dieser schickt König Salman seinen Bruder Morolf in ferne Länder mit dem Auftrag, seine geraubte Frau Salme zurückzubringen. Urn sich den fremden Hitifen zu nähern, bedient sich Morolf zahireicher Masken und tritt als Bettler, in der Haut eines alten Juden, als Krüppel, Pilger und Spielmann auf. Diese mehrfache Verschleierung seiner Identität stehe, so DILLIG, in idarer Opposition zu den repräsentativen Identitäten mittelalterlicher Gesellschaften, die Horst WENZEL als „Kultur der Sichtbarkeit" beschreibt. DILLIG analysiert die Identitätswandel Morolfs aufbauend auf Michel FOUCAULT, für den subjektive Identität die Voraussetzung für die Existenz und Handlungsfähigkeit in einer Gesellschaft bildet und durch die Einfügung in deren Machtordnung (Diskurs) entsteht, und auf Judith BUTLER, die den Prozess der Subjektivation als irreversibles Unterworfenwerden beschreibt, nach dem die angenommene Identität nicht mehr abgestreift, sondern nur noch transformiert werden kann. Sie beleuchtet vor diesem Hintergrund neben der Maskierung Morolfs, also dem Abstreifen seiner Identität, auch deren notwendige öffentliche Wiederherstellung, urn erneut als gesellschaftliches Subjekt existieren zu können. Die Maskierung bleibt dem männlichen Protagonisten vorbehalten und stellt, DILLIG zufolge, daher ein genderspezifisches Werkzeug dar, das dazu diene, dessen Handlungs- und Mobilitätsraum zu erweitern. Antonella SCIANCALEPORE analysiert in ihrem Beitrag den Prozess der Identitätswerdung der Protagonisten in drei französischen Werken aus dem Mittelalter: Chretien de Troyes', Chevalier au Lion', Marie de Frances ‚Lai de Bisclavret" und Berouls ‚Tristan". Dabei fokussiert sie sich auf das Spannungsfeld zwischen der öffentlichen und geheimen Identität der

Hauptfiguren, die im Handlungsverlauf für eine bestimmte Zeit aus der Zivilisation in die Natur entweichen, wo sie eine animalische Identität annehmen, deren Attribute sich nur abseits der Offentlichkeit entfalten können. Tier und Natur symbolisieren dabei, taut SCIANCALEPORE, eine verborgene Seite des Charakters, die auch nach der Widereingliederung in die Offentlichkeit bestehen bleibt und durch die Vereinigung von wilder und zivilisierter Persönlichkeit den Prozess der Identitätswerdung vervollständigt.

Satu HEILAND nimmt eine differenzierte Analyse von Hartmann von Aues Werken

und, Der arme Heinrich' aus dem späten 12. Jahrhundert vor und stellt dabei den in beiden Erzählungen vorkornmenden, schicksalhaften ‚Schlüssellochblick" in den Mittelpunkt, der die weitere Handlung und Charakterbildung der Protagonisten maßgeblich beeinflusst. In beiden Fällen trifft der heimliche Blick eine tugendhafte Frau von außergewöhnlicher Schönheit und führt zu einer inneren Läuterung der Hauptcharaktere. Aufbauend auf Aristoteles' Verständnis des Sehsinns als Quelle der Erkenntnis und hinweisend auf die Hartmann von Aues Werken innewohnende biblische Symbolik und Motivik argumentiert HEILAND, dass der heimliche Blick durchs Schlüsselloch den verborgenen Buick auf das Herz symbolisiere, wie er sonst nur Gott zu eigen ist, und damit eine Umkehr von weltlichen zu göttlichen Tugenden wie Selbstlosigkeit, Treue und Mitleid herbeiführe.

Natacha CROCOLL, Birgitt ZACKE, Susanne KNAEBLE und Florian SCHMID veranschaulichen anhand der Geschichten von, Calisto und Melibea",„Tristan und Isolde" und der, Melusine, wie die Autoren durch geschickte narrative Inszenierung einen Spannungsrahmen aufbauen, in dem die für die Hauptfiguren so existenziellen Geheimnisse schrittweise gelüftet werden, bis die völlige Enthüllung zum tragischen Ende der Erzählungen fart. Dabei spielen eine dichotome Raumsymbolik und das narrative Miteinbeziehen der Leser eine zentrale Rolle. Den Anfang macht Natacha CROCOLL mit ihrem Beitrag über Fernando de Rojas, Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea' (1499), in der es urn die geheime Liebesbeziehung zwischen den Protagonisten geht, die durch den Zauber der Hexe Celestina aneinandergebunden sind. CROCOLL analysiert die narrative Strategie des Erzählers, der die Handlung durch eine oppositionelle Konstellation von privaten, geschützten Räumen und &fentlichen Orten voller Gefahren unterstützt. Dabei arbeitet sie wiederkehrende Symbole heraus - etwa die Tür als Verbindungsmedium oder das Bett als Ort der Geheimnisbewahrung. Das Eindringen in private Räume bzw. deren erzwungene Offnung im Verlauf der Handlung interpretiert CROCOLL im Hinblick auf den historischen Kontext des Autors als Aussage über eine Zeit, in der auch traditionell geschützte Räume keine Sicherheit mehr bieten und Geheimnisse zwangsläufig ohne Obdach bleiben.

Birgit ZACKE untersucht in ihrem Beitrag, wie Heimlichkeit und Enthüllung in der Brüsseler eberlieferung von Gottfrieds, Tristan" in Text- und Bildsprache inszeniert werden. Sie arbeitet dabei Motive der Geheimhaltung und Offentlichkeit heraus, so zum Beispiel den Hof und den Wald, verschlossene und offene Räume oder auch die fehlenden Hände bildlich dargestellter Figuren, die auf deren Unentschlossenheit hindeuten. Der Leser wird, Taut ZACKE, durch die gezielte Perspektive beider Medien zum Zeugen von Tristan und Isoldes Ehebruch. Das Geheimnis wird stückchenweise auf eine kleine, zum Ende hin anwachsende Gruppe von Mitwissern verteilt.

Susanne KNAEBLE analysiert die narrative Inszenierung des Geheimnisses der Melusine in Thüring von Ringoltingens gleichnamiger Märe. Das Werk zeichnet sich durch einen im Mittelalter weft verbreiteten Stil aus, der modern wirkende erzähle-rische Elemente enthält. In ihrer Textanalyse zeigt KNAEBLE, wie das Geheimnis urn Melusines Gestalt, die sich jeden Samstag hüftabwärts in eine Schlange verwandelt, stufenweise gelüftet wird, bis sie sich durch die völlige Enthüllung ihres Geheimnisses zur Flucht gezwungen sieht und die Geschichte ihr tragisches Ende nimmt. KNAEBLE legt verschiedene narrativ angedeutete Handlungsoptionen offen und rekonstruiert, wie und weshalb

die Figuren an der Geheimhaltung des für Melusine so lebenswichtigen Geheimnisses scheitern. Dabei tritt, so KNAEBLE, zwischen, Geheimem" und ‚Offentlichem" ein für die frühen Prosaerzählungen typischer, doch für die Figuren verborgen liegender ‚Graubereich" zu Tage, in dem die Geheimnisentfaltung erzählerisch inszeniert wird. Auch Florian SCHMID widmet sich in seinem Beitrag dem Geheimnis der Melusine. Eine Schlüsselszene der Erzählung ins Auge fassend, in der Melusines Sohn Geffroy durch einen schicksalhaften Zufall das Grab seines Gravaters entdeckt und damit zumindest für den Rezipienten das Familiengeheimnis des mütterlichen Fluchs lüftet, untersucht SCHMID, auf welche Weise der Autor in Textund Bildsprache das Geheimnis und dessen Entschleierung narrativ in Szene setzt. Anhand der zahlreichen Vor- und Rückverweise in der Geschichte und der oftmaligen Distanz des Wissensstandes über das Geheimnis zwischen Leser und Figuren zeigt SCHMID Spannungsfelder auf, in denen das Geheimnis stufenweise gelüftet wird. Dabei untersucht er Verhältnisse von Sichtbarem und Unsichtbarem, Nähe und Distanz, Dauerhaftem und Vergänglichem und - mit Buick auf den Zauber, der Melusine und ihre Schwestern ewig an ihre dämonenhafte Existenz bindet - auch zwischen Leben und Tod, die sich in Text und Bildern manifestieren. Auf die Rezeption der Geschichte blickend stellt SCHMID fest, dass Text und Bild trotz ihrer verschiedenartigen charakteristischen Kommunikationsformen auch bei den Kompilatoren die In-szenierung und Enthüllung von Melusines Geheimnis unterstützen und auf diese Weise narrativ zusammenwirken.

Die folgenden Beiträge von Grazyna BOSY, Silvan WAGNER und Dorothea WELTECKE behandeln den narrativen Umgang mit sehr unterschiedlichen gesellschaftlichen Diskursen in der Literatur des Mittelalters: Es geht urn wahre Liebe, urn Herrschaftslegitimation und urn religiösen Wahrheitsanspruch. Das Geheimnis und vor allem dessen Nicht-Enthüllung bietet dabei eine narrative Lösung für gesellschaftliche Kontroversen. Grazyna BOSY befasst sich mit dem Liebesideal in der französischen Trobadorlyrik. Ehe und romantische Liebe gelten den Dichtern als unvereinbar und so erlangt die fin'amor erst durch ihre Verborgenheit ihren hohen Stellenwert als Ausdruck wahrer Leidenschaft. Nach einer Einführung in den Liebesdiskurs der Trobador analysiert BosY anhand ausgewählter Textbeispiele die Schlüsselkomponenten dieser vollkommenen Liebe: die Verborgenheit (celar), die Angst vor Entdeckung (paor), die körperliche Lust beim (vermeintlich) letzten Zusammenkommen vor der Trennung (joi) und schließlich den Schmerz der Trennung (dolor). Die Geheimhaltung erweist sich dabei als wichtigste Eigenschaft, denn der Raum der fin'amor liegt auf3erhalb der öffentlich gelebten Ehe und bleibt damit den Liebhabern vorbehalten.

Silvan WAGNER beleuchtet in seinem Beitrag das Geheimnis des Schwanritters in der Märe Konrads von Würzburg und dessen Bedeutung für die Lösung der Herrschaftsfolge des Herzogtums Brabant. Die geheimnisvolle Ankunft, die dem Rittter zugeschriebenen Eigenschaften und seine Handlungsweisen Lassen ihn, so WAGNER, als ein paradoxes Wesen erscheinen, das sich zwischen Menschlichkeit und Göttlichkeit, zwischen Tod und Leben bewegt. Entgegen bisherigen Interpretationsansätzen argumentiert WAGNER, dass gerade in der Nicht-Auflösung dieses Paradoxons — in der Verborgenheit von Herkunft und Identität des Ritters — die Lösung des Konflikts um die Herrschaftsfolge liege. So erreiche der Erzähler, laut WAGNER, durch einen narrativen Sprung in dessen Gegenwart und den Verweis auf gleich vier Herrschaftsgeschlechter, die den Nachkommen des Schwanritters entstammen, eine fückwirkende Legitimation der Herrschaftsfolge, die durch die verborgene Herkunft des Ritters und das (bewusste) Nicht-Nennen der Geschlechter seiner Kinder sowohl kognatischer als auch agnatischer Natur sein Winne. Das Geheimnis eröffne damit gleich mehrere Legitimationsquellen, die sich, laut WAGNER, nicht ausschließen, sondern gegenseitig verstärken und damit auch, bewiesene` Abstammungslinien übertrumpfen. Dorothea WELTECKE nimmt in ihrem Beitrag eine Analyse von Boccaccios Ringparabel vor, in der es urn die Frage nach der, wahren` Religion geht, wobei diese bis zum Ende unbeantwortet bleibt. Aufbauend auf einer kritischen Betrachtung des bisherigen

Forschungsdiskurses, in der WELTECKE Interpretationsansätze, die auf interreligiöse „Hybridität" und „Ambiguitätstoleranz" verweisen, als unklar und (tells) anachronistisch kritisiert, schlägt sie eine narratologische Analyse anhand von Albrecht KOSCHORKES Theorie über „Figuren des Dritten" vor. Hinweisend auf die sozialpolitische Brisanz, die die Frage nach der wahren Religion in Gesellschaften des Mittel- alters in sich barg, erklärt WELTECKE, dass die Figur des Dritten ein narratives Mittel sei, das dazu dient mit Entscheidungszwängen umzugehen. Seine Funktion sei dabei nicht das Auflösen der Zwänge, vielmehr verweise die Figur des Dritten auf eine komplexe Auseinandersetzung mit kontroversen Themen - in diesem Fall mit konkurrierenden Wahrheitsansprüchen von Religionen im Mittelalter. WELTECKE eröffnet damit eine neue Lesart der viel diskutierten Ringparabel, die dazu beitragen soll, modern binäre Interpretationen zu überwinden.

Am Schluss des Kapitels steht Anna HOLLENBACHS Beitrag über Burkhard Zinks (1396 - 1475) Beschreibung seiner früh verstorbenen und ihm daher unbekannten, mysteriosen Mutter. In den, Augsburger Chroniken` inszeniere er durch die Betitelung als mein Liebe mueter eine liebevolle Beziehung zu ihr, die laut HOLLENBACH der bisherigen Vorstellung über ein doch eher liebloses Mutterbild im Mittelalter widerspreche und daher einer genaueren Betrachtung bedürfe. Nach einer differenzierten Einführung in den Forschungsdiskurs begründet HOLLENBACH, dass sie die, Augsburger Chroniken` als mitunter autobiographisches Werk begreift, welches neben den offenliegenden historischen Informationen auch Einblick in die kulturelle und gesellschaftliche Weltsicht des Autors gebe. Ausgehend von den methodischen Ansätzen Niklas LUHMANNS und Georg SIMMELS zu sozialen Funktionen von Geheimnissen, argumentiert HOLLENBACH, dass die zwischen historische Ereignisse gestreute persönliche Familiengeschichte einen sozialen Raum zwischen Autor und Leser erzeuge, dessen Funktion Burkhard Zink gezielt zur Konstruktion von Idealbildern und einer Selbstlegitimation in der städtischen Gesellschaft genutzt babe. So erfahre die verstorbene und unbekannte Mutter ihre Idealisierung vor allem im narrativ kontrastierenden negativen Bild der Stiefmutter.

Wissen ist Macht: Geheimhaltung als strukturelles Merkmal von Bildungs- und Herrschereliten

Der exklusive Zugang zu Geheimnissen und zu Wissen, das der breiten Bevölkerungsmasse verborgen ist, beschreibt ein wichtiges strukturelles Merkmal politischer und intellektueller Eliten, durch das sich diese Gruppen nach außen hin abgrenzen und das ihre übergeordnete Position in der Gesellschaft garantiert. Im ersten Teil des Kapitels veranschaulichen Gerhard WOLF, Angelika KEMPER und Nadine METZGER anhand ausgewählter Fallbeispiele den Umgang mit geheimem Wissen bei den Frühhumanisten und in der Medizingeschichte, während sich die nachfolgenden Beiträge von Linda DOHMEN, Cybelle CROSETTI DE ALMEIDA, Alheydis PLASSMANN und Maike SACH im Bereich politischer Herrschaftssicherung bewegen und Beziehungen zwischen Macht und Geheimnis aufzeigen.

Gerhard WOLF beleuchtet am Beispiel der, Zimmerischen Chronik` aus dem 16. Jahrhundert das Spannungsfeld zwischen humanistischem Wahrheitsanspruch und der Wahrung politisch und gesellschaftlich brisanter Geheimnisse, in dem sich der frühneuzeitliche Chronist Froben von Zimmern bewegt. Da sich der Autor als Adeliger und Wissenschaftler sowohl der rationalen Wahrheitsfindung als auch der Aufrechterhaltung der ständischen Ordnung und religiösen Moral verschrieben hat, bringt die Hauschronik - versehen mit methodologischen überlegungen und lehrenden Absichten - einen eigenständigen Diskurs zum Umgang mit Geheimnissen zustande, der sich, so WOLF, als vielversprechende Forschungsquelle der hybriden Zwischenphase zwischen Mittelalter und Humanismus eigne. Nach einer theoretischen Einführung in den zeitgenössischen Geheimnisbegriff und einer Ausdifferen-zierung von drei Kategorien zum Umgang mit Geheimnissen

in einer Chronik zeigt WOLF, wo die politischen und moralischen Grenzen im Umgang mit Geheimnissen verlaufen und an welchen Stellen Froben diese bewusst überschreitet, um den neuen humanistischen Idealen zu genügen. Weiter nimmt WOLF Stellung zu Frobens adeliger Herkunft, die ihn durch seine standesgebundene Unabhängigkeit von anderen zeitgenössischen Chronisten abgrenzt, welche er an vielen Stellen als Interessenvertreter ihrer adligen Günner verurteilt.

Angelika KEMPER untersucht in ihrem Beitrag einen weiteren frühhumanistischen Text, nämlich das Tugenden und Laster beschreibende Werk ‚Dimetromachia` von Heinrich Fischer Aquilonipolensis aus dem Erfurt des späten 15. Jahrhunderts. Sie analysiert dessen komplexen semantischen und metrischen Aufbau und gibt Antwort auf die Frage, worm die mutmagliche Verschleierung des Inhalts begründet liegt. Hinblickend auf den historischen Kontext frühhumanistischer Kreise, in denen sich auch Aquilonipolensis bewegte, stellt KEMPER fest, dass das Werk trotz humanistischer Tendenzen zum einen deutlich in der traditionellen christlichen Morallehre verankert bleibt, sich zum anderen aber durch eine Betonung der Tugenden der Freundschaft und Geselligkeit in der neuartigen Kultur humanistischer Freundeskreise verortet. Die sprachliche Komplexität könne dabei, so KEMPER, einerseits als spielerischer Hinweis auf die Doppeldeutigkeit der vermittelten Inhalte und Werte interpretiert werden. Andererseits erhalte das Werk dadurch einen elitären und exklusiven Charakter, der den Zugang für Laien erschwere und somit als Abgrenzungsmerkmal der Bildungsschicht wirke. Die Verankerung in der christlichen Wertetradition und die Verwendung des mittelalterlichen versus retrogradi verweise dabei auf den interimistischen Status des Werks zwischen spätmittelalterlicher und humanistischer Denkschule.

Den ersten Kapitelteil abschlieSend untersucht Nadine METZGER in ihrem Beitrag die Geschichte einer Arzneimittelkategorie - der hierai, die den Arzt Paccius Antiochus zu tiberischer Zeit berühmt gemacht und deren geheime Rezeptur er bis zu seinem Tod gehütet hat. Entlang der Rezeption der hierai durch groSe Namen der Medizingeschichte wie Scribonius Largus, Galen und Paulos von Aigina und ihrem erfolgreichen Vertrieb bis zum Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts beschreibt METZGER, wie diese Medikamente auch nach der Entschlüsselung und Verschriftlichung ihrer Zubereitung weiterhin eine werbewirksame Aura des Geheimnisvollen und Außergewöhnlichen umgaben. Dabei verweist die Verfasserin zum einen auf die - trotz veränderter Zube- reitung — beständige Fortführung des Namens hiera, der im Griechischen, heilig` im Sinne von, besonders` bedeutet, und erklärt, dass anstelle der Geheimhaltung später eine Legitimation durch die Verbindung mit Namen berühmter Arzte trat. Weiter, so METZGER, garantierten die komplexe Zubereitung sowie vielfältige und teure Zutaten die fortlaufende Charakterisierung der hierai als herausragende und wundersame Arzneien, deren Zugang der wohlhabenden Elite vorbehalten blieb.

Den zweiten Kapitelteil beginnt Linda DOHMEN mit einer differenzierten Analyse von überlieferten Unzuchtsvorwürfen, mit denen sich Gemahlinnen des karolingischen Herrschergeschlechts konfrontiert sahen. Sie fokussiert dabei einen Bericht aus dem 9. Jahrhundert von Regino von Prüm, der sich durch eine Anspielung auf die „Geheimnisse der Königin" von anderen Uberlieferungen abhebt und dem sie weitere Texte vergleichend zur Seite stellt. Einleitend liefert DOHMEN eine Diskurseinführung über das damalige Verständnis von, öffentlich` und, geheim` und verweist auf das Spannungsfeld zwischen Herrschaft und Geheimnis. Die strenge hierarchische Ordnung von Eingeweihten und Ausgeschlossenen bezeichnet sie als „Skala des Geheimen", welche die Macht- und Herrschaftsordnung der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft widerspiegele und auf der die Autoren behutsam diplomatisch balancieren müssen. So gilt es einerseits Geheimnisse zu bewahren, urn Herrschaft nicht zu gefährden, während die Unzuchtsskandale andererseits eine öffentliche Thematisierung erfordern, urn die geschwächte Ordnung wiederherzustellen.

Auch Cybele CRosErri DE ALMEIDA beschäftigt sich mit einem Unzuchtsvorwurf. In ihrem Beitrag untersucht sie den Skandalfall einer Adelsfamilie im Köln des 15. Jahrhunderts, in dem Luckard von Eilsich, Ehefrau von Johann von Eilsich, bezichtigt wurde, ihren Ehemann zunächst mit einem Anderen betrogen und danach vergiftet zu haben. CROSETTI DE ALMEIDA untersucht dabei, mit welchen Mitteln und aus welchen Beweggründen die mächtige Familie Luckards, die Wasservasses, versuchten, die Gerüchte um ihre Tochter zu verheimlichen, urn während und nach dem Prozess einen Skandal zu vermeiden. Aufbauend auf FOUCAULT5 Verständnis von der Kontrolle über Geheimnisse als eine Form von Macht, stellt Closern DE ALMEIDA fest, dass die Geheimhaltung vor allem das Prestige und damit auch die Macht der Wasservasses sichem sollte. Dabei verweist sie auch auf genderspezifische Aspekte des Skandals urn Luckard.

Alheydis PLASSMANN behandelt in ihrem Beitrag die geheime Verschwörung des englischen Hochadels gegen König Johann bei seinem geplanten Feldzug gegen den walisischen Fürsten Llywelyn im Jahr 1212. In einer historisch-kritischen Analyse arbeitet sie die politischen und strukturellen Umstände heraus, welche die geheime Verschwörung beförderten, die letztlich zur Durchsetzung der Magna Charta im Jahr 1215 führten. Als maßgebliche Faktoren nennt PLASSMANN zum einen die dezentralen Herrschaftsstrukturen, in denen England nur durch eine lose Personalunion mit dem anglo-normannischen Reich verbunden war und die daher oppositionelle Allianzen begünstigten. Zum anderen verweist PLASSMANN auf die Schwächung von König Johanns Herrschaftslegitimation durch die Ermordung seines Thronfolgers Arthurs I, des Herzogs von Bretagne. Der Band schlieSt mit Maike SACHS Beitrag über den Umgang mit Staatsgeheimnissen am Moskauer Hof im 15. Jahrhundert. Sie fokussiert sich dabei auf das, Wie` und enthüllt vielfältige Strategien, mit deren Hilfe die eigenen Geheimnisse bewahrt und die der gegnerischen Seite enthüllt werden sollten, um die politischen Ziele des russischen Kaiserreichs durchzusetzen. Dazu skizziert sie zunächst die Außenbeziehungen des Moskauer Staats und dessen politische Interessen, um sodann auf gesellschaftliche Umstände wie mangelnde Sprachkenntnisse auf europäischer Seite einzugehen. Anhand gezielter Fallbeispiele stellt SACH anschließend unterschiedliche Verhüllungs- und Aufdeckungsstrategien vor. <>

TRANSLATION OF REVIEW

The secret as a concept that constitutes society and culture

The secret is constitutive of society and culture, its "invention" can be described as "the founding act of culture" or "precondition and hallmark of all civilized forms of human coexistence."

The 17th Symposium of the Medievalist Association, which took place from 19 to 22 March 2017 in Bonn, dealt with the extensive topic of "Mystery and Hidden in the Middle Ages". From the numerous lectures, a selection is now available in which the function and significance of these socially pervasive phenomena are dealt with from a diverse and multidisciplinary perspective. The limits of the known distinguish what everyone in a society or culture (from each other) knows from those stocks of knowledge that are reserved for only a few. The mystery and these boundaries are just as constitutive of far cultures as the demarcation of boundaries to such stocks of knowledge that can only be reached through human curiosity. These include the arcana of nature, but also as (yet) not understood (last, religious) things that are not (yet) understood, which are not completely revealed in revelations (for example: the nature of the otherworldly world, the attributes of God). The mystery of true faith and the divine plan of creation is at the center of all religious denominations and marks a central distinguishing feature from those of other faiths. At the same time, the limited access to the divine mystery, often hierarchized according to criteria such as gender, age and ministry, functions as the internal structure of the ecclesiastical faith community or mystical alliances. Rituals such as the judgment of God or the sacrament of Penance describe approaches to the hidden inner self of the faithful and to the divine will and reveal a field of tension between ecclesiastical

publicity and divine mystery. It also contains languages and writings with which sacred and hidden knowledge is expressed or obscured (for example, by secret writings). Furthermore, descriptions of the still unknown or even the transcendent world in the Middle Ages (such as: the Atlantic or the Garden of Eden) are characterized by imaginative mystification, which can provide information about widespread ideas of this world and the hereafter. The hidden, on the other hand, can be related as a concept and phenomenon to the theme of sacred spaces and objects closely related to mystery as well as their respective functions in societies, such as deprived spaces in churches or relics.

The fact that contributions from the history of Christian societies predominate in this volume reflects the general orientation of German medieval studies. At the same time, articles from Islamic Studies, for example, reflect the progressive interdisciplinary open of the Medievalist Association towards non-European cultural areas. Books and texts represent the majority of the research topics covered. Even the technical nature of manuscripts can indicate hidden or secret content to which readers have only been granted limited access, for example through book locks or paratextual marginal messages. The boundaries and demarcations associated with the secrets and the hidden, which can be broken by uncovering the secret, as well as the associated ideas and pictorial worlds in their cultural and social-constituting dimension are also a recurring narrative means in the literature dealt with in this volume. Rooms marked as private or public (for example, sleeping rooms, courtyard, forest), masking and hidden identity or the buick through the keyhole are often manifestations of this leitmotif. Elites as stewards and producers of the culturally and socially constituting secret can appear in the respective center of society, for example at court, or in the form of scholars. The (secret) knowledge controlled by them can act as a distinguishing feature and guarantor of their privileged position - for example in the secrecy of political scandals or medical prescriptions. Thus, the consideration of early humanist texts makes it possible to observe conflicts between humanistic search for truth and social boundaries that prohibit disclosure or further research (as in matters of noble families or in the context of religious ideas).

The contributions are bundled in five thematic areas: (1) Mysticism and Church: On the Divine Mystery, Occult Knowledge and Mystified Places, (2) Meaning and Function of Sacred Spaces and Objects, (3) Codicological Contributions: Of Book Castles and Paratextual Spaces, (4) Mystery and Hiddenness as a Narrative Means in Literature, (5) Knowledge is Power: Secrecy as a Structural Feature of Educational and Ruling Elites.

Mysticism and Church: From the Mysterious Mystery, Occult Knowledge and Mystified Places

In hardly any other area of society does the hidden have such an existential function as in religion and mysticism. Where facts and eyewitnesses disappear behind the belief in the inviolable, the mystery plays a role that constitutes community and order. Thus, divine wisdom and mystical knowledge only acquire their characteristic status through their inaccessibility, and the church order in the Middle Ages is also based on limited access to the divine plan of creation, the display of which is often reserved only for chosen dignitaries. At the beginning of the chapter are the contributions of Wendelin KNOCH and Heinz SIEBURG, who describe church rituals with the sacrament of Penance and the judgment of God, with the help of which the hidden will of God was to be recognized and implemented on earth. In his contribution, KNOCH draws a brief history of the Christian sacrament of Penance, which develops from an originally public penitential procedure, as described by Ps. Dionysius Aeropagita in the 6th century, to Petrus Lombardus (12th century), William of Auxerre (1150-1231) and Thomas Aquinas (13th century) to the intimate act between confessor and BaBer, as we still know it today. The exploration between public confession and hidden, inner penance reveals a lively field of tension in the ecclesiastical discourse.

In his contribution on medieval judgments of God, Heinz SIEBURG uses selected examples from Middle High German literature (, Tristan'; 'Iweid; 'Nibelungenlied'; 'das heiße Eisen') to explore manifestations and manifestations, application contexts and motivations and, above all, the legitimation of the ords. His focus is in particular on the fire and bahr test. While the legitimation of the Ordale in the early Middle Ages was still based on the intention to enforce the will of God on earth, the divine judgments in the 13th century were pilloried precisely for this. Critics such as Thomas Aquinas complain that man should not presume to force divine intervention and thus an insight into the moral mystery.

Felix PRAUTZSCH, Eugenio RIVERS!, Joanna GODLEWICZ-ADAMIEC and Pawel PIsZCZATOWSKI deal with the narrative dimension of mystery in church history. On the basis of the tradition of the miracles of the Apostle Andrew in the 'Legenda aurea', Felix PRAUTZSCH analyses the central importance of the secret in the narrative of early Christian legend. Building on LUHMANN's understanding of the sacred, which protects itself against trivialization through its mystification, PRAUTZSCH describes the mystery of faith as a community-constituting and exclusive feature of the Christian faith community, with which it distinguishes itself from the world of the Gentiles. In comparison with the later transmission of the Andreas legend in the Passional, PRAUTZSCH notes that the mysterious loses its importance with the spread of Christianity and has been internalized by the community in the form of the creed assumed to be generally known. In the later reception of the legend, according to PRAUTZSCH, the focus therefore shifts to the miracle as a revelation of mystery.

Eugenio RIVERS' examines in his contribution Ekbert von Schönau's publications about the visions of his sister Elisabeth and his criticism of the heretical teachings of the 'Katharee in the 12th century. RIVERSI critically analyzes the field of tension between secret and public in which Ekbert's narrative moves. Ekbert contrasts the Christian public faith with the mystical secrecy of the heretics, whose undeniable knowledge of the Bible Ekbert saw lead to dangerous heresies because of their lack of discretio. Discredo refers to the intellectual capacity to interpret the Bible correctly and goes hand in hand with the hierarchical educational career in the Catholic Church. As abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Schönau, Ekbert was responsible for claiming this ability for himself – unlike his sister Elisabeth, whose visions were examined and selected by Ekbert before their publication. In his analysis, RIVERSI shows how discretio works in the church community as a structuring tool between public faith and divine mystery.

Based on Paul numH's remarks on the creation of language and the ecstatic experience of the world through mysticism, which manifests itself in a "logical paradox" of the unspeakability of mystical recognition, Joanna GODLEWICZ-ADAMIEC and Pawel PISZCZATOWSKI present the field of tension between expressiveness and unspeakability of divine secrets in a differentiated analysis of the language of European mysticism in the Middle Ages. In doing so, they juxtapose the negative theology of Master Eckhard, who defines God by what and how he is not and thus dedicates himself entirely to the unspeakability of the divine mystery, with the pictorial language of Hildegard von Bingen, who tries to give expression to the same phenomenon. According to GODLEWICZ-ADAMIEC and PISZCZATOWSKI, mysticism as the looking at divine secrets always oscillates between the border of silence and visionary language creation as an expression of the unspeakable.

With Vicky ZIEGLER's contribution to Arabic alchemy, we make an excursion into Islamic mysticism and the language of this secret science. ZIEGLER analyzes maslama ibn Qasim al-Qurtubi's work "The Boast of Stone" by Maslama ibn Qasim al-Qurtubi (d. around 1008), which stands out from other alchemical texts due to its literary constitution in the form of Arabic rank-of-law poetry. In the work, written in dialogue form, a total of 20 minerals discuss in personified form which of them is

the most valuable and purest and thus the coveted 'philosopher's stone'. Ziegler notes, on the one hand, that the author succeeds in obfuscating the content through puzzles, aliases, allegories and number mysticism even without the use of a secret script. On the other hand, it refers to semantic ambiguities that contain hidden messages. Thus, she interprets the synthetic production of gold as a symbolic representation of the purified soul, which indicates the occult character of the work.

The end of the chapter is taken up by three contributions about the mystified representation of unknown places. After Manuel SCHWEMBACHER's contribution on the Garden of Eden, Andreas OBENAUS and Gerda BRUNNLECHNER describe the mystification of unknown oceans from a European and an Islamic perspective. In his contribution, Manuel SCHWEMBACHER devotes himself to the late medieval idea of earthly paradise — the hidden Garden of Eden, which as the berning point of heaven and earth lies on the latter, but is in principle inaccessible to humans in its divine hiddenness. The subject of his investigation is the legendary story 'Il viaggio dei tre monad al paradiso terrestre' — 'The journey of the three monks to earthly paradise', which has been handed down in three variants from the 15th and 16th centuries in Latin and Italian. Compared to other myths that make the journey to the hidden paradise fail at the latest at the gates of the garden, the three monks in two variants of this story are granted entry far a limited time and they impressively describe their fantastic surroundings. In addition to the expected paradisiacal conditions such as imperishable beauty, a constantly wonderful climate and fruits bursting with ripeness, SCHWEMBACHER also refers to the recurring motif of a strange time system in comparison with other myths entwined with Eden and analyzes new releases such as the Fountain of Youth and the mission to write down the experiences in the monastery that the some receive for their return from Enoch and Elias. In doing so, he paints an impressive picture of late medieval notions of hidden paradise, miracles and divinity.

In his contribution, Andreas OBENAUS analyses the description of the Atlantic in the reports of Islamic scholars from the period from the 8th to the 13th century. This ocean marked the border of the known world in the Islamic cultural area of Lange and appears in literature as a mysterious, mythical place where resting places of the dead, kingdoms of gods or paradises of all kinds were suspected. In the works of al-Mas'ûdi (10th century) there are first hints about a further development of the ocean and in the 12th and 13th centuries the West Islamic geographers al-Idrisi and Ibn Sa'Id al-Magribi mention the discovery of new, previously unknown islands in the Atlantic and thus make a decisive contribution to the demystification of the ocean. Nevertheless, OBENAUS argues, even in these reports along geographical data, mysterious islands and mystical mythical creatures, it is not always possible to distinguish between fact and fiction. The aura of mystery persists until the 13th century.

In her contribution, Gerda BRUNNLECHNER examines a coastline map of the Mecia de Viladestes from 1413, in which mystical mythical creatures and monstrous people are drawn in addition to seas and countries. Referring to the historical context and geographical knowledge of the author, BRUNNLECHNER explains various interpretations of the fantastic beings. They mark unknown territories on the map, but can also serve to open up contemporary ideas about God's hidden plan of creation. From her historical-critical analysis, BRUNNLECHNER concludes on the desire of the former Jew Mecias, who converted to Christianity, for religious reconciliation of the two religious communities, which is expressed in his map.

Meaning and function of sacred spaces and objects

After the first chapter of the volume deals with the manifold function of mysteries, especially for the ecclesial community of faith, the following chapter takes a closer look at one of its important sub-

areas. Sacred spaces and objects such as relics form a central element of the ritual instruments of the church in the Middle Ages.

At the beginning there is Anne SCHAICH's contribution, who explains in a differentiated analysis of ecclesiastical niche spaces in the Middle Ages what was kept in the various cabinets, wall niches and chests and for what reason. In addition to sacred objects, the storage place of which often depended on their use in church services, churches in the Middle Ages also offered space for private valuables and thus fulfilled the function of modern banks.

Wilfried KEIL and Esther-Luisa SCHUSTER ask about the function of such sacred objects and spaces, whose original purpose was to remain hidden forever. Keil deals with the foundation stone of the Maria Magdalene Chapel in Braunschweig, which was found in 1955 during the demolition of the building and has an inscription next to a carved sculpture of Magdalena, which is dated 1499. In view of the permanent hiddenness and resulting invisibility of the stone, KEIL asks about its function and addressees. He refers to the 'restricted presence' of the foundation stone, which unfolds its effect solely through the knowledge of its existence - even if it actually seems absent. Furthermore, KEIL argues, by immortalizing their names on the foundation stone, the founders intended to leave a testimony of their good deed that would last until the Day of Judgment.

Esther-Luisa SCHUSTER describes the secret burials of the Hildesheim bishops Godehard and Bernwald shortly before their translation and canonization in the 12th century. She asks about the motive of the secret openings and refers to the Platonic understanding of forgetting, which recognizes in the memory a proof of the existence of the forgotten. Thus, the opening of the tombs, from which the smell of well-being symptomatic of relics penetrated, represents a legitimation of canonization on several levels and thus describes less a secret intended for secrecy, but rather a means of establishing the legitimacy of the veneration of saints and guaranteeing the smooth running of the reliquary transmission.

Stephan Conermann, Harald Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, Miriam Quiering
Codicological contributions: Of books locksmiths and paratextual spaces

In this chapter, Marco HEILES, Claudine MOULIN and Claudia WICH-REIF deal with the material level of various manuscripts and to what extent this implies secrecy or limited access to their contents. HEILES considers this question with regard to manuscripts that have been locked by book locks. Using the example of a total of 42 lockable books from the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, which are listed in an appendix, he carries out a differentiated analysis of the manuscripts. Its list contains official and legal books, specialist literary collective manuscripts, family books and family chronicles as well as other valuable manuscripts, such as choir books. In the analysis, HEILES first deals with the technical nature and differences of the book locks, then derives various functions of the book locks from the content, addressees and location of the works. He argues that in most cases these are very easy to open and therefore primarily take on a symbolic function by marking the content as secret, mystical or particularly valuable. In addition, HEILES also takes up functions such as protection against addents or contamination.

Claudin MOULIN investigates functions of paratextual writing strategies and the application of secret scripts in the Old High German text tradition (700-1050). IN DOING SO, MOULIN notes that the glosses are not so much intended to be a secrecy, but rather a different visibility, by distinguishing themselves from the main text by their material difference or receding into the background. MOULIN understands glossing as a living process in which a field of tension between the visible and the invisible is created, in which what is supposedly hidden in the background or by secret writing does not necessarily also describe the secret, but rather testifies to the material skills and the

writing tradition of intellectual elites, which to this day manifest themselves in idioms such as "between the lines" or "marginally noticed".

Claudia WICH-REIF dedicates herself in a comprehensive investigation of the Essen Gospels' (supposedly) hidden knowledge in biblical exegesis. Taut WICH-REIF's Multi-layered and multilingual reception makes it particularly suitable for showing the paratextual spaces in which the obvious and the initially 'invisible' unfold. Through a precise recording and a careful analysis of the commentaries and glosses of the Gospels, it presents which knowledge was openly accessible to the reviewers and at which points it could only be opened up by appropriate linguistic and technical expertise.

Mystery and hiddenness as a narrative means in literature

Mystery and hiddenness are recurring themes and leitmotifs in medieval literature. In the fields of tension, visible - hidden' /, public - secret' identity and character of the protagonists are formed, complex storylines are spun and readers are turned into initiates. Dichotomous schemes such as that of public and private spaces mark recurring narrative means. Furthermore, some authors show how not solving a secret can offer a narrative solution for dealing with delicate social discourses.

The present contributions approach this extensive subject area from different perspectives and on the basis of sources from different genres. In addition to texts from poetry, epic, fictional prose and drama, Anna HOLLENBACH's contribution also includes the narratological consideration of a chronicle.

Ursula SCHAEFER starts the chapter with a lexical contribution. In it, she examines some terms from Old English that denote the hidden and allow conclusions to be drawn about cognitive concepts and relationships of their time. After analyzing how the cognitive abstract, understanding, is projected onto the sense of 'seeing', she works out to what extent this projection has been shifted from the sense of 'hearing' to 'seeing'. At the center of her investigation are the lyrical works, Beowulf', Maxims I' and a riddle, as well as the terms dyrne and digol that appear therein, both of which refer to hidden/geheirn', and the terms opposite them undyrne, gesyne and sweotol, which SCHAEFER translates with' visible'. The use of the terms and the semantics on which they are based show, SCHAEFER thaws that although they consistently describe the hidden, this only in a few cases means knowledge kept secret, but the meanings move within a much wider cognitive framework of ' understanding and 'recognizing'. The fact that the number of terms that describe hidden things has been significantly reduced in the course of the linguistic development of Middle English leads SCHAEFER to the assumption that a cognitive change has also taken place in medieval society with the lexical one.

In their contributions, Janina DILLIG, Antonella SCIANCALEPORE and Satu HEILAND deal with the narrative staging of identity in selected prose texts from German and French literature of the Middle Ages. Janina DILLIG analyses the secrecy and transformation of identity in the Middle High German narrative, Salman and Morolf' from the late 12th century. In it, King Salman sends his brother Morolf to distant lands with the order to bring back his stolen wife Salme. Urn approaching the foreign Hitifen, Morolf uses rich masks and appears as a beggar, in the skin of an old Jew, as a cripple, pilgrim and playman. According to DILLIG, this multiple obfuscation of his identity stands in opposition to the representative identities of medieval societies, which Horst WENZEL describes as a "culture of visibility". DILLIG analyzes Morolf's change of identity based on Michel FOUCAULT, for whom subjective identity is the prerequisite for existence and the ability to act in a society and arises from the insertion into its power order (discourse), and on Judith BUTLER, who describes the process of subjectivation as an irreversible subjugation, according to which the assumed identity can no longer be stripped away, but only transformed. Against this background, in addition to the masking of Morolf, i.e. the striping away of his identity, it also illuminates its necessary public restoration of

being able to exist again as a social subject. Masking is reserved for the male protagonist and, according to DILLIG, therefore represents a gender-specific tool that serves to expand his scope for action and mobility. In her contribution, Antonella SCIANCALEPORE analyses the process of the protagonists becoming identities in three French works from the Middle Ages: Chretien de Troyes', Chevalier au Lion', Marie de Frances 'Lai de Bisclavret' and Beroul's 'Tristan'. In doing so, she focuses on the field of tension between the public and secret identities of the main characters, who escape from civilization into nature for a certain period of time in the course of the plot, where they assume an animal identity whose attributes can only unfold away from the public. Animal and nature symbolize, tauts SCIANCALEPORE, a hidden side of the character, which remains even after reintegration into the public and completes the process of becoming identity through the union of wild and civilized personality.

Satu HEILAND takes a differentiated analysis of Hartmann from Aue's works and, Poor Henry' from the late 12th century, focusing on the fateful 'keyhole view' presented in both stories, which significantly influences the further plot and character formation of the protagonists. In both cases, the secret gaze hits a virtuous woman of extraordinary beauty and leads to an inner purification of the main characters. Building on Aristotle's understanding of the sense of sight as a source of knowledge and referring to the biblical symbolism and motifs inherent in Hartmann von Aue's works, HEILAND argues that the secret gaze through the keyhole symbolizes the hidden buick on the heart, as it is otherwise only owned by God, and thus a conversion from worldly to divine virtues such as selflessness, Faithfulness and compassion.

Natacha CROCOLL, Birgitt ZACKE, Susanne KNAEBLE and Florian SCHMID use the stories of Calisto and Melibea"Tristan und Isolde" and Melusine to illustrate how the authors build up a frame of tension through skilful narrative staging, in which the secrets so existential for the main characters are gradually revealed until the complete revelation to the tragic end of the stories fares. Dichotomous spatial symbolism and the narrative involvement of the readers play a central role. Natacha CROCOLL begins with her contribution on Fernando de Rojas, Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea' (1499), which deals with the secret love affair between the protagonists, who are bound together by the magic of the witch Celestina. CROCOLL analyzes the narrative strategy of the narrator, who supports the plot through an oppositional constellation of private, protected spaces and &fentlichen places full of dangers. In doing so, she works out recurring symbols - such as the door as a connecting medium or the bed as a place of secrecy. With regard to the historical context of the author, CROCOLL interprets the intrusion into private spaces or their forced opening in the course of the plot as a statement about a time in which even traditionally protected spaces no longer offer security and secrets inevitably remain without shelter.

In her contribution, Birgit ZACKE examines how secrecy and revelation are staged in the Brussels eberlieferung of Gottfried's "Tristan" in textual and pictorial language. She works out motifs of secrecy and publicity, such as the courtyard and the forest, closed and open spaces or the missing hands of figuratively depicted figures, which indicate their indecision. The reader, Taut ZACKE, becomes a witness to Tristan and Isolde's adultery through the targeted perspective of both media. The secret is distributed piecemeal to a small group of acquaintances that grow towards the end.

Susanne KNAEBLE analyses the narrative staging of the mystery of Melusine in Thuringia of Ringoltingen's fairy tale of the same name. The work is characterized by a style widespread in the Middle Ages, which contains modern-looking narrative elements. In her text analysis, KNAEBLE shows how the secret of Melusine's figure, who turns into a snake waist-down every Saturday, is gradually revealed until she is forced to flee by the complete revelation of her secret and the story takes its tragic end. KNAEBLE reveals various narratively hinted options for action and reconstructs

how and why the characters fail because of the secrecy of the secret so vital for Melusine. According to KNAEBLE, between the "secret" and the "public", a "grey area" typical of the early prose narratives, but hidden from the figures, comes to light, in which the unfolding of secrets is narratively staged. Florian SCHMID also dedicates his contribution to the secret of the Melusine. Contemding with a key scene in the narrative, in which Melusine's son Geffroy discovers the grave of his grafather by a fateful coincidence and thus reveals the family secret of the maternal curse, at least for the recipient, SCHMID examines the way in which the author narratively stages the mystery and its unveiling in text and imagery. On the basis of the numerous forward and backward references in the story and the often distance of the state of knowledge about the secret between reader and characters, SCHMID shows areas of tension in which the secret is gradually revealed. In doing so, he examines the relationships between the visible and the invisible, closeness and distance, the permanent and the transient and - with Buick on the magic that eternally binds Melusine and her sisters to their demonic existence - also between life and death, which manifest themselves in text and images. Looking at the reception of the story, SCHMID notes that, despite their different characteristic forms of communication, text and image also support the production and revelation of Melusine's secret in the compilers and thus interact narratively.

The following contributions by Grazyna BOSY, Silvan WAGNER and Dorothea WELTECKE deal with the narrative handling of very different social discourses in the literature of the Middle Ages: It is about true love, urn legitimation of rule and urn religious claim to truth. The mystery and, above all, its non-disclosure offers a narrative solution to social controversies. Grazyna BOSY deals with the ideal of love in French Trobador poetry. Marriage and romantic love are considered incompatible by poets and so the fin'amor only acquires its high status as an expression of true passion through its concealment. After an introduction to the love discourse of the Trobador, BosY uses selected text examples to analyze the key components of this perfect love: the hiddenness (celar), the fear of discovery (paor), the physical pleasure at the (supposedly) last meeting before the separation (joi) and finally the pain of separation (dolor). Secrecy proves to be the most important characteristic because the space of the fin'amor is located on3 within the publicly lived marriage and is thus reserved for lovers.

In his contribution, Silvan WAGNER sheds light on the secret of the Swan Knight in the fairy tale of Conrad of Würzburg and its significance for the solution of the succession of rule of the Duchy of Brabant. The mysterious arrival, the qualities attributed to the knight and his actions make him, according to WAGNER, appear as a paradoxical being that moves between humanity and divinity, between death and life. Contrary to previous interpretations, WAGNER argues that it is precisely in the non-resolution of this paradox – in the concealment of the origin and identity of the knight – that the solution to the conflict over the succession of rule lies. Thus, according to WAGNER, through a narrative leap into his presence and the reference to four ruling families who come from the descendants of the Swan Knight, the narrator achieves a treacherous legitimation of the succession of rule, which is achieved by the hidden origin of the knight and the (conscious) non-naming of the sexes of his children both cognatic and agnatic in nature. The secret thus opens up several sources of legitimation, which, according to WAGNER, are not mutually exclusive, but reinforce each other and thus also trump proven lineages. In her contribution, Dorothea WELTECKE makes an analysis of Boccaccio's ring parable, which deals with the question of true religion, which remains unanswered until the end. Building on a critical examination of the previous research discourse, in which WELTECKE criticizes interpretation approaches that refer to interreligious "hybridity" and "tolerance of ambiguity" as unclear and (tells) anachronistic, she proposes a narratological analysis based on Albrecht KOSCHORKE's theory on "figures of the third". Pointing to the socio-political explosiveness of the question of true religion in middle-aged societies, WELTECKE explains that the figure of the third party is a narrative means that serves to

deal with decision-making constraints. Its function is not the dissolution of the constraints, but rather the figure of the third refers to a complex examination of controversial topics - in this case with competing truth claims of religions in the Middle Ages. WELTECKE thus opens a new reading of the much-discussed ring parable, which should help to overcome modern binary interpretations.

At the end of the chapter is Anna HOLLENBACH's contribution on Burkhard Zink's (1396 - 1475) description of his mysteric mother, who died early and was therefore unknown to him. In the Augsburg Chronicles, he staged a loving relationship with her through the title as my love mueter, which, according to HOLLENBACH, contradicted the previous idea of a rather loveless image of a mother in the Middle Ages and therefore required a closer look. After a differentiated introduction to the research discourse, HOLLENBACH justifies that she understands the Augsburg Chronicles as a sometimes autobiographical work, which, in addition to the exposed historical information, also provides insight into the cultural and social worldview of the author. Based on the methodological approaches of Niklas LUHMANN and Georg SIMMELS to the social functions of secrets, HOLLENBACH argues that the personal family history scattered between historical events creates a social space between author and reader, the function of which Burkhard Zink deliberately used to construct ideal images and self-legitimation in urban society. Thus, the deceased and unknown mother experiences her idealization above all in the narratively contrasting negative image of the stepmother.

Knowledge is power: secrecy as a structural feature of educational and ruling elites

The exclusive access to secrets and knowledge hidden from the broad mass of the population describes an important structural feature of political and intellectual elites, through which these groups distinguish themselves from the outside world and which guarantees their superior position in society. In the first part of the chapter, Gerhard WOLF, Angelika KEMPER and Nadine METZGER use selected case studies to illustrate the handling of secret knowledge among early humanists and in the history of medicine, while the following contributions by Linda DOHMEN, Cybelle CROSETTI DE ALMEIDA, Alheydis PLASSMANN and Maike SACH move in the field of political domination and show relationships between power and mystery.

Using the example of the Zimmerische Chronik' from the 16th century, Gerhard WOLF sheds light on the field of tension between humanistic claims to truth and the preservation of politically and socially explosive secrets, in which the early modern chronicler Froben von Zimmern moves. Since the author, as a nobleman and scientist, has dedicated himself both to the rational discovery of truth and to the maintenance of estates order and religious morality, the house chronicle - provided with methodological considerations and teaching intentions - brings about an independent discourse on dealing with secrets, which, according to WOLF, is suitable as a promising source of research for the hybrid intermediate phase between the Middle Ages and humanism. After a theoretical introduction to the contemporary concept of secrets and a specialization of three categories for dealing with secrets in a chronicle, WOLF shows where the political and moral boundaries in dealing with secrets run and at which points Froben consciously crosses them in order to satisfy the new humanistic ideals. Furthermore, WOLF takes a stand on Froben's noble origin, which distinguishes him from other contemporary chroniclers by his independence from other contemporary chroniclers, whom he condemns in many places as representatives of the interests of their noble Günners.

In her contribution, Angelika KEMPER examines another early humanist text, namely the work 'Dimetromachia' by Heinrich Fischer Aquilonipolensis from Erfurt in the late 15th century, which describes virtues and vices. It analyzes its complex semantic and metric structure and provides answers to the question of whether the alleged obfuscation of the content is justified. With regard

to the historical context of early humanist circles, in which Aquilonipolensis also moved, KEMPER notes that, despite humanist tendencies, the work remains clearly anchored in traditional Christian moral teaching on the one hand, but on the other hand locates itself in the new culture of humanistic circles of friends through an emphasis on the virtues of friendship and conviviality. According to KEMPER, the linguistic complexity can be interpreted on the one hand as a playful indication of the ambiguity of the content and values conveyed. On the other hand, this gives the work an elitist and exclusive character, which makes access difficult for laymen and thus acts as a distinguishing feature of the educational class. The anchoring in the Christian tradition of values and the use of medieval versus retrogradi refer to the interim status of the work between late medieval and humanistic schools of thought.

Finally, in her contribution, Nadine METZGER examines the history of a category of medicines - the hierai, which made the doctor Paccius Antiochus famous in Tiberian times and whose secret recipe he guarded until his death. Along the reception of the hierai by great names of medical history such as Scribonius Largus, Galen and Paulos von Aigina and their successful distribution until the end of the 7th century, METZGER describes how these drugs continued to surround an advertising aura of the mysterious and extraordinary even after the decoding and writing down of their preparation. On the one hand, the author refers to the - despite changed preparation - constant continuation of the name hiera, which in Greek means 'holy' in the sense of' special, and explains that instead of secrecy, there was later a legitimation by the connection with the names of famous doctors. Furthermore, according to METZGER, the complex preparation as well as diverse and expensive ingredients guaranteed the ongoing characterization of the hierai as outstanding and miraculous medicines, the access of which was reserved for the wealthy elite.

Linda DOHMEN begins the second part of the chapter with a differentiated analysis of traditional accusations of fornication with which wives of the Carolingian ruling family were confronted. She focuses on a report from the 9th century by Regino von Prüm, which stands out from other traditions by allusion to the "secrets of the queen" and to which she compares further texts. In the introduction, DOHMEN provides an introduction to the discourse on the understanding of 'public and secret' at that time and refers to the field of tension between domination and mystery. She describes the strict hierarchical order of the initiated and the excluded as the "scale of the secret", which reflects the order of power and domination of medieval society and on which the authors must carefully balance diplomatically. On the one hand, it is important to keep secrets, not to endanger the rule, while on the other hand, the fornication scandals require a public discussion in order to restore the weakened order.

Cybele CRosErri DE ALMEIDA also deals with an accusation of fornication. In her contribution, she examines the scandalous case of a noble family in Cologne in the 15th century, in which Luckard von Eilsich, wife of Johann von Eilsich, was accused of first deceiving her husband with another and then poisoning her. CROSETTI DE ALMEIDA investigates by what means and for what reasons the powerful Luckard family, the Wasservasses, tried to conceal the rumors about their daughter by avoiding a scandal during and after the trial. Building on FOUCAULT5's understanding of the control of secrets as a form of power, Closern DE ALMEIDA states that secrecy should above all be the prestige and thus also the power of the watervasses. She also refers to gender-specific aspects of the Scandal urn Luckard.

In her contribution, Alheydis PLASSMANN deals with the secret conspiracy of the English aristocracy against King John during his planned campaign against the Welsh prince Llywelyn in 1212. In a historical-critical analysis, she works out the political and structural circumstances that promoted the secret conspiracy that ultimately led to the enforcement of the Magna Carta in 1215.

On the one hand, PLASSMANN cites the decentralized power structures as decisive factors, in which England was only connected to the Anglo-Norman Empire by a loose personal union and which therefore favored opposition alliances. On the other hand, PLASSMANN refers to the weakening of King John's legitimacy of rule by the assassination of his heir to the throne Arthur I, the Duke of Brittany. The volume closes with Maike SACHS contribution on the handling of state secrets at the Moscow court in the 15th century. It focuses on the "how" and reveals a variety of strategies to keep its own secrets and reveal those of the opposing side in order to achieve the political goals of the Russian Empire. To this end, she first outlines the foreign relations of the Moscow state and its political interests, and then responds to social circumstances such as a lack of language skills on the European side. On the basis of targeted case studies, SACH then presents different concealment and detection strategies. <>

Jesus and Judaism by Martin Hengel, Anna Maria Schwemer, translation by Wayne Coppins [Baylor-Mohr Siebeck Studies in Early Christianity, Baylor University Press & Mohr Siebeck, 9783161589201]

The debate over the extent of Jewish influence upon early Christianity rages on. At the heart of this argument lies the question of Jesus: how does the fate of a first-century Galilean Jew inspire and determine the nature, shape, and practices of a distinct religious movement? Vital to this first question is another equally challenging one: can the four Gospels be used to reconstruct the historical Jesus? In this work, Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer seek to untangle the complex relationships among Jesus, Judaism, and the Gospels in the earliest Christian movement. **Jesus and Judaism**, the first in a four-volume series, focuses on the person of Jesus in the context of Judaism. Beginning with his Galilean origin, the volume analyzes Jesus' relationship with John the Baptist and the Jewish context of Jesus' life and work. The authors argue that there never was a nonmessianic Jesus. Rather, his messianic claim finds expression in his relationship to the Baptist, his preaching in authority, his deeds of power, and his crucifixion as king of the Jews, and in the emergence of the earliest Christology. As Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer reveal, Jesus was not only a devout Jew, nor merely a miracle worker, but the essential part of the earliest form of Christianity.

The authors insist that Jesus belongs *within* the history of early Christianity, rather than as its presupposition. Christianity did not begin after Jesus' death; Christianity began as soon as a Jew from Galilee started to preach the word of God.

Reviews

Hengel's work acts as something like a summation of the New Testament scholarship of the twentieth century. ~Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, Theologische Literaturzeitung

Hengel and Schwemer have laid a fascinating and important book on the table. ~Peter J. Tomson, Journal for the Study of Judaism

The extraordinary amount of learning [in this text] means that the argument of this volume cannot easily be brushed aside. ~Simon J. Gathercole, Booklist

I'm impressed by the abundance of carefully processed primary and secondary literature. ~Franz Graf-Stuhlhofer, European Journal of Theology

[**Jesus and Judaism**] is distinguished by a strong sense of measure, as well as by a high level of treatment. ~Romano Penna, Biblica

Anyone wanting to dig deeply into the historical context surrounding Jesus and the apostolic church would have to look hard to find a more substantial and reliable source than this. ~The Bible Today

CONTENTS [SUMMARY]

MARTIN HENGLE

Martin Hengel, was eventually recognized as one of the greatest theological scholars of 20th century, concentrated his studies upon the New Testament as well as other theological writings of early Christianity. Hengel specialized in the early period of Rabbinic Judaism as inclusive of the origins of Christianity and incipient Christian church. Throughout his extensive writings, Hengel frankly acknowledges the challenges involved in developing a thorough history of early Christianity. Because the sources available to scholars are often found surviving in fragments, as a result, "the sparseness of the sources vitiates our knowledge of large areas of the ancient world". In his article "*Raising the Bar: A daring proposal for the future of evangelical New Testament scholarship*", Hengel thus challenges scholars to delve into more extensive biblical research to ensure proper understandings of the texts being established. Hengel's Christology strove to share an accurate illumination of who Jesus was and what he did and sought after as well as the notion that 'Christianity emerged completely from within Judaism'. After his experience as a soldier in the Second World War, Hengel said:

> "As for these specific errors that have affected my own country, today one may say that among the most important insights of our field of study since the Second World War belongs the recognition of how deeply rooted earliest Christianity is in Judaism as its native soil. This implies that the study of the pre-Christian Judaism of the Hellenistic period as a whole, that is, from the fourth century BCE on, is to be included in our field of study. Here Old and New Testament scholars must work hand in hand".

Not only did Hengel desire that scholars "work hand in hand" but also was known for supporting scholars of all backgrounds. In 1992 he was Emeritus Professor of New Testament and Early Judaism at the University of Tübingen. This period of Judaism includes early Christianity and the field known as Christian origins. Much scholarly work is currently being done around the intersection of Hellenism, Judaism, Paganism, and Christianity and the ways in which these terms are potentially problematic for the Second-Temple era. Such work of the past two or three decades follows 50 years of work by Hengel, who reconceptualized the scholarly approach to the period in such works as **JUDENTUM UND HELLENISMUS**, and other scholars.

Within his studies of Rabbinic Judaism and the origins of Christianity, Hengel explored the perceived dichotomy between Judaism and Hellenism. In his study, **JUDENTUM UND HELLENISMUS**, he documented that the designation of the apostle Paul exclusively as either Jewish or Hellenistic is a misunderstanding. Hengel argues in his writings that despite Paul's controversial rhetoric scholars, along with Jewish and Christian communities, must recognize the historical value of Paul's epistles and Luke's account of Paul's life within the Acts of the Apostles. Hengel recognizes the importance of this awareness because of the multifaceted insight provided about the Second Temple Era and Hellenistic Judaism of the first century within these texts. **JESUS AND JUDAISM** promises to initiate the capstone of his evangelic of the historical man Jesus and the Church founded upon what he became to mean to his generations of followers.

Excerpt: The Overall Temporal and Thematic Framework for a History of Early Christianity

[As Pertains to the First Volume of the Projected Four Volume Study]

According to the unanimous judgment of all four evangelists, the temporal starting point for a history of the beginnings of Christianity is the appearance of John the Baptist. The beginning of the public activity of Jesus most intimately connected with his person. Despite their theological significance, the stories of birth and childhood in the first two chapters of Luke and Matthew elude a historical presentation. At most we can infer from them that Jesus was born prior to the death of King Herod (4 BCE). The evangelist Luke therefore connects his only exact chronological specification regarding the activity of Jesus with the appearance of the Baptist in a synchronism of various rulers patterned on Jer 1.1-2 (LXX), which begins with Emperor Tiberius, and places it in his fifteenth year, i.e., in 27 or 28 CE. Tiberius became princeps on September 19, 14 CE. The time of his reign must be calculated from this date. There is no reason to fundamentally mistrust Luke here, to place the appearance of the Baptist in 26 CE, and, for example, to place the death of Jesus already in the following year 27 CE. Whoever fundamentally rejects the information provided in Luke 3.1-2 must entirely forgo the attempt to provide a more exact chronology of Christian beginnings. Since Pilate did not come to Palestine until the summer of 26 CE, Jesus would have been executed at the first Passover festival in which the prefect participated!' Against this speaks not only the passion story—Pilate shows himself to be familiar with the Jewish relations there—but also the bloody incident effected by Pilate, which is portrayed in Luke 13.1ff. If Pilate "mixed the blood of Galileans with the blood of their sacrificial animals," then the concern is probably with an event on a day of preparation for the Passover festival, when the pilgrims brought their Passover lambs to the temple for slaughter. After all, the prefects usually came to Jerusalem only for the main festivals and above all for the festival of Passover. The incident confirms the various indications in Josephus and the Gospels that this festival was always especially threatened by unrests.

Thus, this first volume of our portrayal encompasses the time of the activity of the Baptist from about 27/28 CE and the time of Jesus, who was executed, according to the Synoptics, on Nisan 15, the first day of the Passover festival, presumably of the year 30 CE. This means that in the case of Jesus' public activity we are dealing with a relatively short period of time of scarcely more than a year and a half to two years, from which, to be sure, unique world-historical effects resulted. From this brief period a tradition that is astonishingly detailed by ancient standards is preserved for us, in which historical recollection and later interpretation are often inseparably fused with each other. These few years and the traditions bound up with them have changed the world as no other comparable period of time in antiquity. The contents of our first volume are concentrated on this period of time. The attempt to provide a portrayal of the activity of Jesus cannot be separated without loss from a history of emerging early Christianity. The connection to Jesus has imprinted itself upon his disciples: the whole tradition about him was handed on, shaped, and configured by them. The tradents of the oral tradition— above all Peter—were, like the evangelists later, important community members who had authority. The primitive church as well was determined to a large extent by Jesus tradition in the shaping of its life and faith. This always remained vibrant in primitive Christianity. Accordingly, in the treatment of John the Baptist and the activity and passion of Jesus, the first volume will repeatedly keep in view the later tradition history of the Jesus tradition in the primitive community. A concise presentation of the political, the social, and especially the religious conditions in Jewish Palestine, which had been restless since the time of the Maccabees, belongs, of course, in this volume. This includes especially the time of the Hasmoneans, Herod I (37-4 BCE) and his successors, and then the fate of Judaea as a Roman province from 6 CE to the outbreak of the Jewish War in 66 CE... <>

Theodicy and Spirituality in the Fourth Gospel: A Girardian Perspective by Daniel Deforest London [Lexington Books / Fortress Academic, 9781978702400]

Daniel DeForest London argues that the Fourth Gospel offers a potentially transformative response to the question of suffering and the human compulsion to blame. Based on his reading of John 9 (the man born blind), London argues that the Gospel does not offer a theodicy, but rather a theodical spirituality, an experience of praying the question of suffering and remaining open to a divine response. London shows how the Johannine Jesus's response poses three sets of symbols in dichotomy (day/night, vision/blindness, sheep/wolf), each subverted by another, core symbol (light, judge, shepherd). By interpreting these symbols in light of mimetic theory, he argues that Jesus's response reveals the scapegoat mechanism in which an innocent victim is blamed by violent victimizers. However, rather than blaming the victimizers, Jesus continues to engage with the characters who appear to be villains: the light of the world transforms night and day into one continuous day; the Good Shepherd welcomes sheep and wolf into his beloved flock. In this way, readers are invited to bring to the Johannine Jesus their own violence, resentment, and wolfish rage regarding the question of suffering and to experience the theodical spirituality of the Fourth Gospel.

CONTENTS

In this book, I focus primarily on how the question of suffering can reveal humanity's compulsion to blame someone for the anguish that we see all around us. Acknowledging humanity's addiction to blame, I ask who can be held accountable for the suffering in the world without perpetuating more suffering through scapegoating and blame. Just as I reflected on my encounter with the Jewish man while rafting down the Jordan River, I will delve into two chapters (9:1-10:21) of the Fourth Gospel's narrative, which has been described as a body of water "in which a child may wade and an elephant can swim." Just as my Messianic Jewish raft mate served as a helpful conversation partner on the Jordan River, I will enlist the help of anthropologist Rene Girard and Girardians as conversation partners, especially as I encounter the rich symbols of the Gospel. I trust that the Fourth Gospel will offer some helpful and potentially transformative insight on my question.

Synopsis of Themes

Before stepping into the river, I will clarify my question of suffering in chapter 1 and acknowledge that I am not seeking to construct a Johannine theodicy but rather to experience a theodical

spirituality as I bring my question and the compulsion to blame to the Gospel narrative. In this chapter, I will offer a definition of theodical spirituality within the larger context of Christian spirituality and a brief survey within the Christian tradition. I will then turn my attention to the Fourth Gospel, initially highlighting the theodical spirituality of Johannine scholar Robert Kysar who has brought his own "theodical" concerns to his readings of the Gospel narrative that he has referred to as "voyages with John." Finally, I will set the parameters and frames for the focus of my argument: the Johannine pericope (John 9:1-10:21).

In chapter 2, I will introduce my conversation partner in navigating the Gospel narrative. Just as a rafter can drown in a river's rapids, a reader may feel overwhelmed by the Gospel's dizzying symbols and metaphors. Girard's insights—collectively called "mimetic theory"—will help serve as an interpretive key for experiencing and understanding the symbols and metaphors employed by Jesus in the pericope. Mimetic theory will assist me in understanding the prevalence of the human compulsion to blame as well as observing the anthropological aspects of the spiritual realities that the Johannine symbols present. My main guides for reading John in light of mimetic theory will be those who have previously used Girard's insights to interpret John and John's symbols, in particular James Alison, Gil Bailie, and Rene Girard himself.

In chapter 3, I will analyze John 9:1-7 where the disciples ask the question of suffering and Jesus offers his initial response as well as his first set of symbols: day, night, and the light. I will demonstrate how the disciples' question invites me to enter into the narrative with my own question of suffering. In identifying with the disciples and their question, I will consider the victim of suffering as a potential object of blame. I will interpret Jesus's initial response where he clearly rejects the disciples' theology. I will then interpret the symbols of day, night, and light through the lens of mimetic theory.

In chapter 4, I will analyze John 9:6-41 where the man born blind undergoes the interrogation of the Pharisees, who eventually expel him from the synagogue. I will consider the option of unleashing the compulsion to blame onto the interrogators who victimize the man through expulsion. I will interpret Jesus's second set of symbols (vision, blindness, and the judge) and how he remains fully committed to the transformation of those who are blinded by theologies of blame, thus challenging our temptation to blame the victimizers. I will then highlight the ways in which the narrative itself invites us to identify with the interrogators and thus recognize how we ourselves remain complicit in the very violence that we seek to blame in others.

In chapter 5, I will analyze John 10:1-21 in which Jesus launches into the "Good Shepherd" discourse by employing the symbols of sheep, wolf, and shepherd. By using this metaphor, Jesus offers himself as a victim to theodicies of blame—essentially as the object of blame itself—in response to the question of suffering. As the Good Shepherd who takes up his life again, Jesus points toward his resurrection which embodies divine forgiveness that has the power to disarm and liberate those bound by the compulsion to blame. Jesus responds to the question of suffering by inviting us to recognize our compulsion to scapegoat and to undergo transformation through the forgiveness of the one who bears the brunt of our blame.

In each of these chapters, Jesus offers a dichotomous pair (day and night / vision and blindness / sheep and wolf) followed by a symbol that refers to Jesus himself (Light, Judge, Shepherd). In each case, the metaphor that Jesus uses for himself subverts the dichotomy of the other two symbols. He transforms both day and night into one continuous day as the Light. He receives and fully engages with blindness and vision as the Judge; and he protects the sheep and receives the wolf to the extent of laying down his life as the shepherd. In this way, the Jesus of John can receive and heal our own victimhood as well as our participation in violent victimizing. Jesus seeks to transform both the

victims and victimizers of blame. The Fourth Gospel can thus function as an invitation for our own inner wolves of violent victimization and our lambs of victimhood to lie peacefully together (Isaiah 11:6).

In chapter 6, I will consider how our reading of John 9 and 10 invites us to reclaim the tradition of lament and protest against God as a resource for overcoming our propensity to blame. In this tradition, we can hold God accountable for the suffering in the world and even blame God, not because we have concluded that God is, in fact, to blame, but rather because we are addicted to blame and God offers himself as a victim in order to liberate us from our addiction through his forgiveness. My reading will invite us to see God's transforming forgiveness gush forth in response to our prayerful protest just as life-giving waters gushed forth from Christ's pierced side.

Ultimately, this reading of the Fourth Gospel will beckon us into a life unbound by blame: one that requires no victims and which the Gospel calls "abundant" and "eternal" (John 10:10; 3:16). However, we will likely not break our habits of blaming instantly. My reading will demonstrate how the Johannine Jesus' remains committed to showing the ways in which we remain blinded and bound by blame. Some might begin to let go of scapegoating tendencies upon first realizations of the violent world perpetuated through victimization. Others might require an outlet for violence during the weaning process. We will be invited to acknowledge the ways in which we ourselves behave as the wolf who unleashes violence upon the Good Shepherd. Although the Johannine Jesus seeks to move us beyond blame, he is willing to take the blame in order to get us there. The Fourth Gospel's response to the question of suffering and the compulsion to blame is broad enough to receive and transform those who remain addicted to blame even after being shown its violent implications. Thus we will see that the Fourth Gospel is not only a river in which our lambs may wade but also one in which our wolves can swim. <>

THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA edited by Young Richard Kim [Cambridge Companions to Religion, Cambridge University Press, 9781108427746]

Every Sunday, Christians all over the world recite the Nicene Creed as a confession of faith. While most do not know the details of the controversy that led to its composition, they are aware that the Council of Nicaea was a critical moment in the history of Christianity. For scholars, the Council has long been a subject of multi-disciplinary interest and continues to fascinate and inspire research. As we approach the 1700th anniversary of the Council, **THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA** provides an opportunity to revisit and reflect on old discussions, propose new approaches and interpretative frameworks, and ultimately revitalize a conversation that remains as important now as it was in the fourth century. The volume offers fifteen original studies by scholars who each examine an aspect of the Council. Informed by interdisciplinary approaches, the essays demonstrate its profound legacy with fresh, sometimes provocative, but always intellectually rich ideas.

CONTENTS

What This Volume Is ... and Is Not

First, let me begin by reflecting on what this Cambridge Companion is not. It is not designed or intended to provide the reader with a comprehensive, diachronic narrative of the time before, during, and after the council, and all of its associated events, people, places, and dates. Nor will it dive into the intricacies of ongoing debates about the sources, their dates of composition and authorship, their authenticity, :heir transmission, and their reliability. Such can be found in already published works, especially the massive study by Richard Hanson, and studies by Lewis Ayres, John Behr, and Khaled Anatolios. For the related documents, the classic collection by Opitz and recent updates by Brennecke, von Stockhausen, and others, are excellent resources." Rather, the essays collected here offer several possibilities. Some revisit old debates and discussions, others ask new questions, and still more provide different viewpoints on the people, context, and consequences linked to the Council of Nicaea. My hope is that there is something for everyone interested in the Council of Nicaea, from the public to the professional, from the student to the senior scholar, and that the sum total of the chapters provides perspectives that will enhance the reader's thinking about the monumental event, the lead-up to it, and its long afterlife. As is true of any edited volume focused on a particular topic, there will be some overlap among the various contributions, and, I am pleased to say, there are instances of different and even conflicting interpretations of particular historical or theological problems. But these only enhance the critical value of the volume, as the chapters function dialectically as conversation and debate partners with each other, as they also do with the reader. There will also be noticeable gaps or subjects not covered. There simply are not enough pages or acceptable word counts that would make this possible. In some sense, the bibliography itself of this volume mirrors this potential criticism. While on the one hand it is lengthy and contains many (and in some cases) "canon" entries, it is not comprehensive. My ultimate goal is that the contributions of all of the expert writers in this volume will stimulate thought, provoke

unexpected reactions, and ultimately inspire renewed interested in one of the most important — albeit often misunderstood — moments in the history of Christianity.

The Contributions

Part I of this Cambridge Companion will explore the "contexts" leading up to the Council of Nicaea, with examinations of the political, social, ecclesiastical, and theological developments that informed and influenced the gathering and its deliberations. Raymond Van Dam offers a "prelude," which investigates a series of questions related to the political and social context in the lead-up to Nicaea. Eschewing a teleological perspective that assumes the inevitability of the theology of Nicaea, he explores how the symbols and language of religion are reflections of social and cultural concerns. Van Dam pays special attention to the Tetrarchic framework that in turn led to the rise of Constantine, and how the ambiguities inherent in his complex rise to power and conversion were very much reflected in the theological debates that emerged about the Son's relationship to the Father. Rebecca Lyman studies the uncertain and contested origins of the theological dispute between Alexander of Alexandria and Arius, in particular the social, cultural, and political developments of the years 312-24, which set the stage for the escalation of the conflict and the convocation of the council. After surveying previous scholarly interpretations, which are varied and debated rigorously, she argues that the political, social, and religious tensions resulting from the empire of Constantine and Licinius and the development of ascetic ideals and practices in the post-Diocletianic, post-persecution dispensation set the context in which the theological dispute between Arius and Alexander unfolded.

In Part II, Ine Jacobs uses her expertise in late antique and Byzantine archaeology to analyze the material considerations of the council. She first reflects on the change in locale, from Ancyra to Nicaea, and what may have motivated it, and then she examines the available remains of Nicaea (modern Iznik) to ascertain the suitability of the city to host such a gathering, including practical concerns such as where the imperial court and officials were housed, where the meeting space was in the overall landscape of the city, and how and where the delegates were hosted. Finally, she discusses the broader Constantinian building program reflected in other locales and how developments in Christian architecture resulted from changing liturgical and conciliar needs. David Gwynn explores the council and what we know about its convocation, participants, and proceedings from a broad perspective. His discussion includes reflections on the difficulties presented by the conflicting sources, and in his reconstruction of the events he draws on later, more secure conciliar documents to tease out insights into what may have transpired at Nicaea. In addition, he tries as much as possible to recover the voices and perspectives of the "humble individuals." Hal Drake reflects on the "elephant in the room," namely, the emperor Constantine, whose presence at the council was an unprecedented development. Drake explores what motivated Constantine to be so intimately involved with the council, shifting attention away from the usual theological interpretations and back to the political motivations of the emperor. He considers the significance of Constantine's earlier dealings with the Donatists, which gave him a framework for how to approach the Arian controversy. While Constantine sought unity and harmony in his empire, the internal dynamics of Christianity itself ultimately made this an impossibility.

In Part III, on the outcomes of the council, Mark Edwards offers a detailed study of the creed itself. His assessment begins with the evidence for earlier creeds and creed-making and then analyzes the one produced at Nicaea, its language, biblical foundations, and theological implications, including a close look at the history and origin of the term homoousios. He also examines the anathemas and their allegations. Finally, Edwards discusses the promulgation and reception of the creed in the immediate aftermath of the council. Andreas Weckwerth studies the canons by first considering

their textual transmission and their translation into several languages, and second discussing their purpose and content. He then shifts to an analysis of their reception and function in later tradition, in particular how other councils and churchmen understood, adapted, and applied the Nicene canons in subsequent centuries. Daniel Mc Carthy investigates the debate at the council regarding the calculation for when to celebrate the Pasch, that is, Easter. He provides an overview of the Paschal Controversy before and after the fourth century, and he discusses if and how the issue was resolved at the council and received by later traditions. Aaron Johnson writes on the council specifically from the perspective of Eusebius of Caesarea, examining the theological, ecclesiastical, and political vision of arguably the most important eyewitness to the council and its aftermath. Eusebius has left us with several immeasurably important texts, and this chapter surveys the scholarly debates resulting from various interpretative issues. Finally, Johnson challenges traditional and perhaps uncritical arguments about the famous ecclesiastical historian, that he was a dishonest Arian sympathizer who signed the creed out of cowardice or that he did so because he was awestruck in the presence of the emperor. Eusebius was, in fact, an original thinker with a coherent vision that was deeply influential for later writers.

Part IV examines the aftermath of the council, up to the end of the fourth century, with careful attention on the theological trajectories initiated by Nicaea. Sara Parvis argues against recent scholarly assessments that eschew the development of discrete parties, for or against Arius, and correspondingly for or against the Council of Nicaea and its creed. With close analysis of the evidence, she traces the extent to which politics, theology, friendships and enmities, and the talent, ambitions, and charisma of prominent individuals all influenced the decades-long dispute until the Council of Constantinople in 381. In particular, she identifies Athanasius as the key player. Mark Del Cogliano discusses the various theological strands in the aftermath that eventually culminated in the so-called pro-Nicene position, championed at first by Athanasius and refined by the Cappadocian fathers: Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa. He argues that this pro-Nicene alliance was ultimately a consensus-building movement that borrowed from tactics employed by earlier theologians, but that it espoused a particular interpretation of the Nicene Creed that positioned their theology as a middle ground between the extremes of the theology of Arius and Marcellus of Ancyra. Kelley Spoerl studies the term homoousios and its implications for Christology, viewed primarily through the teaching attributed to Apollinarius of Laodicea, but also in anticipation of the Christological disputes that unfolded at the end of the fourth century and through the fifth century. The Council of Nicaea, and the fourth century in general, are often (mistakenly) described as only trinitarian in focus, so this chapter offers a valuable corrective to the overly simplistic binary between the trinitarian fourth and Christological fifth centuries. Dan Williams examines the fourth-century developments in the western half of the Roman empire, tracing the pro-Nicene theological trajectory initiated among others by Hilary of Poitiers and Marius Victorinus and gradually solidified by prominent western bishops like Ambrose and Augustine. He demonstrates how the eventual affirmation of a "neo-Nicene" trinitarian doctrine was achieved sometime in the 380s, after a protracted struggle against the Homoian doctrine, which rejected any "substance"-related terminologies.

Finally, in Part V, the contributions investigate the "long" reception of the council and creed by two Christian traditions. Paul Gavrilyuk considers Nicaea from the perspective of the Orthodox tradition and traces the importance of the council and creed first in the work of Cyril of Alexandria and then in Byzantine liturgy in the sixth century. He introduces the idea of the "hermeneutic of conciliar authority" as evident in later councils, all of which made Nicaea a crucial reference point, and his chapter concludes with reflections on the council in light of the pan-Orthodox council, held in Crete, June 2016. Geoffrey Dunn begins with an examination of the reception of the council in the churches of the West up to 1054 and then specifically by the Roman Catholic Church in the

centuries following. He explores broadly the reception of the creed, including the controversy of the Filioque, and the Canons and their function in church discipline. Dunn also pays special attention to the modern Catholic reception of Nicaea.

Together, these chapters together provide a picture of the immediate, the middle, and the long-term impact of the Council of Nicaea, and they will inspire new questions and research trajectories, provoke debate and disagreement, and ultimately contribute to an ongoing conversation that in reality began as soon as the gathering ended. Seventeen hundred years is a long time in which to discuss anything, but for the nature of the Godhead, ecclesiastical leadership and organization, orthodoxy and heresy, among other related subjects, perhaps such a span of time is only the beginning. **THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA** pays respect to its forebears but also looks ahead to continued dialogue, discussion, and debate about the people and their actions, the events and their outcomes, and the ideas and their lasting legacy in the history of Christianity.

Note to the Reader

The chapters in this volume are each followed by a "Select References" list, rather than a complete bibliography. These lists include fifteen scholarly works chosen by each author, which are relevant to the individual chapter's contents. All works cited in the contributions can be found in the Bibliography at the end of the volume. <>

PATTERNS OF WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY edited by Joan E. Taylor and Ilaria L. E. Ramelli [Oxford University Press, 9780198867067]

- Brings together the latest research and reflections on women's leadership in early Christianity
- Considers the evidence for ways in which women exercised leadership in churches in the first Christian millennium
- Includes new archaeological, artistic, and literary material on women's leadership in the early centuries of the Christian era

This authoritative collection brings together the latest thinking on women's leadership in early Christianity. **PATTERNS OF WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY** considers the evidence for ways in which women exercised leadership in churches from the 1st to the 9th centuries CE. This rich and diverse volume breaks new ground in the study of women in early Christianity. This is not about working with one method, based on one type of feminist theory, but overall there is nevertheless a feminist or egalitarian agenda in considering the full equality of women with men in religious spheres a positive goal, with the assumption that this full equality has yet to be attained. The chapters revisit both older studies and offers new and unpublished research, exploring the many ways in which ancient Christian women's leadership could function.

CONTENTS

At a time when there are continuing debates concerning ancient precedents for women's leadership in churches today, this volume is a very welcome addition that provides new and relevant historical evidence. Leadership is defined broadly, and the chapters of this book comprehensively demonstrate that women could exercise leadership in diverse ways. They present evidence for women with religious authority—both formal and informal, public and private—and ultimately we see a mosaic on which there are different patterns, evident in different places and times. In these patterns, we do not necessarily get clear lines of continuity, but we do appear to have various models which provided the rationales for women to function as partners of male apostles and scholars, or teachers, or baptizers, or independent celibates (in the case of widows), or presiders over the eucharist, in different times and places. Art and archaeology are used adeptly to furnish vital evidence not extant in texts. In various roles we see women acting as leaders, either solely or else in relationship to a man (or another woman) in a team. We have only small pieces of the patterns, as so much has been lost, but this book presents them in a clear and engaging manner. This is an important collection of essays, and the editors are to be congratulated on all their efforts.—Helen K. Bond

***

There is little doubt that Graeco-Roman society as a whole, and the religious groups within society, operated with implicit assumptions of normative gender concepts, but both in wider society and in religious groups gender dynamics could be complex, and women could enjoy economic freedom, public authority, and engage widely in activities that were configured as more commonly those of men. Our authors here are generally conscious of this, as well as the androcentrism, rhetoricity, and selective survival of literary works. Historiography is not rendered pointless because of literary rhetoricity, but simply requires a certain care (for which see Fiorenza 1983, 1992, 1994a, 1994b; Brooten 1982; Matthews 2001). We simply do not have a full range of writings from Christianity that would enable us to understand gender dynamics in the first centuries in a comprehensive way, because of the selection, copying, and preservation processes of later centuries. This necessitates recovery work in terms of older evidence and a hermeneutic of suspicion regarding manuscripts

dating from during or after the fourth century, since scribal amendments may mean manuscripts do not necessarily preserve impartial evidence. For this reason, material culture (epigraphy, art, and archaeology) can provide very important evidence that challenges simple readings of literary material alone.

Thus this book takes the baton from studies done in the 1970s through to the present. The important collections of evidence made by Eisen and Madigan and Osiek are particularly to be noted. Some earlier studies have played an important part in the push for the ordination of women in the mainline churches. With successes in numerous confessions, the impetus has somewhat waned. However, it has to be noted that still, within most of Christianity globally, the key leadership roles remain in the hands of men, despite the progress in gender inclusivity, particularly in western Europe, America, and Australasia. With the successes of the struggle for equality has come an even greater intransigence in other quarters. The Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and most Protestant evangelical churches are resistant to the full participation of women in ordained church leadership roles (or, in some confessions, any participation at all, though see Vassiliadis, Papageorgiou, and Kasselouri-Hatzivassiliadi 2017 in regard to Orthodox Christianity). In 2019 a Papal commission appointed to study the role of women deacons historically, given the question of ordaining women as deacons in the Roman Catholic Church today, decided that more evidence was needed; it was not convinced that women were ordained as deacons in the same way as men. A new commission with new membership, established in 2020, has begun the process again. It is flatly stated on many evangelical websites that women's voices should not be heard in church, because of 1 Cor. 14:34-5 and other passages in the Pauline corpus.' The same issues that affected Paul in advising women prayer-leaders and prophets to cover their hair 1 Cor. 11:1-9—modesty, or 'what feels right'—can also play a part today. Christianity can look to biblical and ancient precedents to justify current practices. Therefore, the problem of interpretation plagues the appreciation of the historical evidence. Teresa Berger's essay (Chapter 9) directly addresses the methodological issues that stump enquiry.

Throughout this book we are seeking a more contextualized, expanded, and nuanced concept of how men and women worked together in early churches. In the studies collected here women are frequently seen working with men but also independently as widows and virgins, as wives of prominent men, making their own decisions and exercising leadership, and as women with particular titles designating authority and respect. At times this leadership is focused on other women, given the strongly gendered nature of Graeco-Roman societies, in which there was a clear power differential between men and women as a normative social division, and strong delineations between public and private spheres. Women's leadership was often exercised within women's space, with women leading other women.

It is sometimes assumed by those who reject women's ordination that women teaching and baptizing other women does not count as true leadership, or else such gender division is used to reinscribe ancient binary concepts and practice as a kind of essential without which there would be a downfall in adherence to both scripture and tradition. The presupposition here is that the ancient women who looked to other women as leaders do not count in terms of defining true leadership. Conversely, it can be assumed that only women in ancient societies that demonstrate leadership of men, or perform in male roles, are actual leaders. Ancient churches have to be seen to have had a modern standard of gender parity in order for there to be recognition of meaningful precedents, and therefore an impossible standard is applied, which leads then to a temptation to push the evidence too far and defensively indulge in the 'feminist utopia' construct.

Ancient women validly exercised leadership in numerous ways that do not map on to contemporary Christian leadership practices. These took place within gendered constructs of space and place, often with a primary goal to provide service. Highly educated elite women could perform as men, rendering masculine language irrelevant. Thus, contemporary conceptual frameworks can be detrimental in terms of understanding ancient patterns. Where there is less gender division among us the distinctive leadership roles exercised by women for women in ancient societies have often been diminished, rendered inconsequential or rejected. Again, the order of widows is not one we find in today's churches, but in a gendered context it was an important body, and one we see both validated and controlled in 1 Timothy 4. The point here is that women's leadership matters, and was real, regardless of what antique social structures underlay it, or how nervously ancient authors testify to it. A Church in which the only leadership roles were held by men is simply not the Church we see in our ancient evidence.

Thus an unstated theme throughout these essays concerns the present. Given the history of women's roles in religious traditions, what does this mean for Christian women now? It is hoped that the studies of this collection, besides advancing historical research, will also provide material for reflection as communities move forward to embrace the challenges of the contemporary world, balancing societal expectations, heritage, inspiration, and capacity.

In this collection, we begin as editors with two of our own contributions, which are integrally linked. The first one, by Joan Taylor, focuses on a biblical text. In 'Male-Female Missionary Pairings among Jesus' Disciples: Some Further Considerations', the chapter expands on aspects of Taylor's previous argument that the designation 'two by two', in Mark 1:7 suggests that the Twelve male apostles appointed by Jesus in Galilee were not paired off internally as masculine teams but were paired with unnamed and obscured female companions. It is argued that the use of two-by-twoin Mark, found without a preposition, needs to be distinguished from the usage in Luke 10:1 in regard to the seventy (or seventy-two) apostles sent out since the Gospel of Peter [91:35 indicates this latter expression means 'two after two': namely, pairs going off in sequence, successively. The expression two-by-two, without any preposition, is not idiomatic Koine but rather is an expression reliant on the Semitic pattern of distributive repetition, and in Sirach 33:14-15 is it used precisely in regard to pairs of opposites, or contraries, created by God, which would normatively include the binary pair of male and female, in accordance with Aristotelian archetypes.

Following on from this, Ilaria Ramelli assembles evidence for the role of female `colleagues' or 'partners' (syzygoi) in the early churches. 'Colleagues of Apostles, Presbyters, and Bishops: Women Syzygoi in Ancient Christian Communities' focuses initially on the meaning(s) of syzygos, literally `yokefellow', and the patristic debate about it, and where such partnerships may be seen in the literature. She takes into consideration the Acts of Philip and its portrait of the apostolic couple of Philip and Mariamme. She also points to the suggestion of a pairing in the Acts of Paul and Thecla, and includes assessment of Clement, Origen, Theodoret, and Gregory Nazianzen. Nazianzen testifies to the existence of a woman presbyter, colleague of a male presbyter and bishop, and highly respected in Cappadocia in the late fourth century, Theosebia, who was most likely the sister of Gregory Nyssen. Ramelli notes that the women syzygoi need to be seen in the context of other women officeholders in the Church, and provides a detailed overview of the key evidence and ending with Origen, who could even use passages of the Pastoral Epistles as a means of acknowledging them.

After this Harry Maier continues with his examination of 'The Entrepreneurial Widows of 1 Timothy'. He argues that the exhortations and admonitions to widows (i.e. unmarried women) voiced in 1 Timothy—identified as a highly rhetorical pseudonymous letter written in Paul's name—

attests to a concern with single women's patronage of Christ assemblies, which the writer seeks to address by having them marry. Maier seeks to move beyond a common explanation that the letter was occasioned by ascetical teachings in which women discovered in sexual continence a new freedom from traditional gender roles. He aims to establish that the letter has a broader economic concern with widows, through an historical exploration of the socio-economic status of women who were artisans in the imperial urban economy. He identifies the means by which women gained skill in trades and the roles they played in the 'adaptive family' in which households of tradespeople plied their trade often at economic levels of subsistence. New Testament texts point to artisan women, some of them probably widows, who played important roles of patronage and leadership in assemblies of Christ believers. By attending to levels of poverty in the urban empire, traditional views of the widows of 1 Timothy as wealthier women assigned to gender roles are seen in a new light through consideration of spouses accustomed to working alongside their husbands and taking on the businesses after they died. While the lives of these women are largely invisible, attention to benefactions of wealthy women to synagogues and associations gives insight into the lives of women acting independently in various kinds of social gatherings.

In the work of Margaret Butterfield, we continue with the subject of widows, and consider the metaphorical way that widows can be presented. In 'How is a Widow like an Altar? Early Christian Women at the Centre of the Human-Divine Economy', Butterfield notes how a small number of Christian texts, dating from the second to the fifth centuries CE, briefly invoke the strange metaphor of the widow as an altar of God. She asks: in what ways might such a metaphor have been intelligible to early Christian audiences? In service of what rhetorical aims might the metaphor have been employed, and what might have been effects of its usages? She considers the use of the metaphor in relation to evidence for widows' statuses as recipients of community funds and as those who offer prayer on behalf of the community. By characterizing the widows as altars these texts present them as objects under the control of others yet acknowledge their position at the centre of a transformational economy of offering. Ultimately, she asks if the widows as altars metaphor indicates they are passive recipients of charity, or workers in the ekklësia entitled to a share of the sacred portion.

Piotr Ashwin-Siejkowski then considers a text that is often considered 'Gnostic' in character. 'The Image of the Feminine in the' Gospel of Philip: An Innovative Assimilation of Paul's Gender Legacy in the Valentinian Milieu', is an essay that explores the richness of images of the feminine preserved in the Coptic Gospel of Philip and their significance to the life of the Valentinian community. It assesses the diversity and dichotomy of the feminine symbolism in relevant documents from Nag Hammadi. In this context the study highlights the importance and creativity of Philip's construction of the feminine. Ashwin-Siejkowski also offers a discussion of the assimilation of the Pauline exegesis of the story of the creation of Adam and Eve by this document. On that basis he shows the original trajectory of the Gospel, which goes beyond the Pauline legacy, to serve the needs of its audience. Finally, as the Gospel of Philip pays a great deal of attention to the value of Christian teaching (exegesis) and the sacraments, the chapter addresses the vital question: could Valentinian women take an active role in teaching and worship in the light of this Gospel and its gender construction?

Nicola Denzey Lewis goes further along this track in 'Women in Gnosticism', noting that real women are difficult to find from the sources conventionally identified as 'Gnostic'. The few that are mentioned in a variety of sources—Marcellina, Flora, and Flavia Sophe—remain enigmatic, mere fleeting mentions that force us to draw on all our resources to reconstruct even the barest contours of their lives. In every case, however, these women appear to have irritated and scandalized the pious self-proclaimed arbiters of Christian 'orthodoxy'. Sadly, however, these women do not seem to have had better spiritual lives in 'Gnostic' circles; there, too, they encountered men ready to take

advantage of the power differential evident in Roman imperial Christian culture, such as it was at the time. To be perhaps less pessimistic, however, the language and imagery of 'Gnostic' documents—particularly those found at Nag Hammadi—contain often startling plays on sexual politics in the spiritual realm. At times, these result in sweeping cosmic dramas that place human women not merely as victims of male spiritual malevolence but as heroines who are able to transcend their earthly fates because there is a place, even in the highest heavenly realms, where 'the feminine' holds sway; beyond that, even, gender differences melt away and are absorbed into an absolute, genderless oneness of existence.

Markus Vinzent explores then 'More "Holy Women" in Early Christianity: The Gospels of Mary and Marcion'. He provides a comparison between the role of women as described by the Gospel of Mary and Marcion's Gospel (and Apostolikon) to that of the canonical Gospels. It emerges that in the two non-canonical texts women were regarded as true witnesses, prophets, and apostles of Christ in contrast to the ambiguous, if not dubious, role of the Twelve, and especially of that of Peter. The chapter also looks into the role of women in the Roman church where, for example, in Hippolytus (In Song of Songs 25.6) they are still known as 'Apostles to the Apostles'. This picture differs considerably from what we are used to read, at least at face value, in the canonical texts, and ultimately asks us to consider the editing process that resulted in certain versions of the earliest stories to be erased.

We then move to the evidence of the Montanists in Phrygia. William Tabbernee, in 'Women Officeholders in Montanism', explores the role of women as invested with religious authority, leaders, prophets, ordained, and objects of reverence in Montanist communities, in the light both of literary sources and epigraphical evidence. He considers key issues, for example whether the designation presbytera on the tombstone of Ammion in ancient Temenothyrai, now Usak, Turkey, means 'elderly woman', 'the wife of a presbyter (or bishop)', or a 'female presbyter'. In the latter case, was this title simply honorific or did it involve holding of an actual office? Tabbernee decides ultimately this was an actual office for a woman that functioned in an entirely Catholic community, perhaps in a proto-Catholic house-church at Temenothyrai, which would be influenced by the attested practices of the Montanists. The Montanists, founding their gender theory on Paul's assertion in Gal. 3:28 (so Epiphanius, Panarion 49.2.5), rejected the dichotomy of public and private spheres for the ministry of men and women, and women were included as officeholders serving both.

Leading on from this, Teresa Berger discusses a central issue in `Women's Liturgical Practices and Leadership Roles in Early Christian Communities'. This chapter explores the scattered and fragmentary evidence for early Christian liturgical practices and the traces it offers of women's leadership roles in worship. She attends to these traces within the broader frame of the emergence of a particular kind of priestly masculinity that increasingly renders women's leadership problematic, especially in worship. This suggests changing circumstances as the mainstream church evolves.

In the next chapter, John Wijngaards, veteran campaigner for Catholic women's ordination, writes on 'Women Deacons in Ancient Christian Communities: Leadership and Ordination'. Women deacons are widely attested in early Christianity, though terms vary and they can be difficult to distinguish. He examines the evidence and considers some of the issues involved in identifying women deacons. He argues that the ordination of women deacons was not dependent on their being associates of male deacons. As time passed, however, this role was abolished, though it still remained in a few places through to the Middle Ages.

In Karl Olav Sandnes' paper we move forward in time to look at the way precedents of women's leadership could be used later, here in the work of the estranged wife of the emperor Theodosius II,

Eudocia. In Eudocia's Homeric Cento and the Woman Anointing Jesus: An Example of Female Authority', Sandnes identifies how the woman of Bethany in the Gospel of Mark is praised in words taken from Achilles, a most prominent figure of manly honour in the Iliad. However, the honour for which she is praised remains within the boundaries of a proper, submissive woman. This duality corresponds to how Eudocia portrays herself in her preface to the Homeric Cento. On the one hand, she improved upon Patricius' poem, presenting a better poem in style as well as content. She demonstrated her superiority. Her superiority was, however, coupled with restrictions implied in her being a woman. It seems, therefore, that Eudocia has inscribed her own dual authority of both superior and woman into her interpretation of the woman of Bethany.

Ally Kateusz and Luca Badini Confalonieri take us then to artistic representations, showing evidence of 'Women Church Leaders in and around Fifth-century Rome'. Their chapter focuses on two artefacts that portrayed women church leaders operating within this broad context. They address frescos of deceased women painted with open gospel books in the San Gennaro Catacombs in Naples; they propose that the most logical interpretation of the iconographic motifs associated with them is that they were women bishops, perhaps two of the women about whom Pope Gelasius complained to male bishops in southern Italy c.496. For cultural context they next consider an ivory reliquary box discovered in 1906, which depicts three pairs of men and women in the altar area of Old St Peter's Basilica in Rome. This scene has recently been re-analysed; one of the pairs appears to have been sculpted jointly officiating the Eucharist at the basilica's altar. Additional fifth- and sixth-century artefacts that portray women as clergy, sometimes paired with men, sometimes independently, affirm both the identification of women bishops in the two Naples catacomb frescoes and also the scene of the woman and man officiating at the altar in Old St Peter's on the ivory box.

In Kevin Madigan's discussion in 'The Meaning of Presbytera in Byzantine and Early Medieval Christianity' there is an examination of the title of 'presbyter' attached to women in antiquity and the early Middle Ages. It is argued that this is always subject to difficult interpretation and, if capable of interpretation at all, highly dependent upon contemporary, contextual evidence. As noted by Tabbernee, this term presbytera can refer to an elderly woman and, often, it refers to the wives of male presbyters. Yet there are a number of instances in which neither is the case. Using inscriptional evidence, canonical decrees, episcopal letters, and one papal letter, Madigan demonstrates that, in this third category of cases, presbyterae seem to have had authority in local communities, or performed quasi-diaconal service at the altar, assisted itinerant priests, and, possibly, engaged in other, routine unspecified presbyteral activities. It is these actions that the ecclesiastical letters and decrees are intended to stop.

Finally, Joan Taylor considers the meeting place of the Therapeutae, described in Philo of Alexandria's De Vita Contemplativa, as represented by Eusebius of Caesarea. Since Eusebius read Philo's treatise as indicating an early Christian community, he sees a church here, with gendered space, affirming this is Christian practice. The ministries of Christian women overall then need then to be considered within a gendered construct of space and movement. While the appropriate 'place' for women in the earliest congregations depends on how meeting spaces are configured (for meals, charity, teaching, healing, and prayer), the recent work of Edward Adams has contested the ubiquitous house-church model and allowed for more cognitive templates for how gendered space was constructed. The third-century 'Megiddo church' seems to suggest a divided dining hall for women and men, in line with gendered dining as a Hellenistic norm, with centralized ritual space.

This is then a rich and diverse collection of chapters that—from a variety of perspectives—break new ground in the study of women in early Christianity. This is not about working with one method, based on one type of feminist theory, but overall, in these papers there is nevertheless a feminist or

egalitarian agenda in considering the full equality of women with men in religious spheres a positive goal, with the assumption that this full equality has yet to be attained. Much of the work here implicitly adopts the empirical historical methodology of critically evaluating positive evidence. The concern is to explore the evidence—literary, epigraphic, archaeological, artistic, iconographic, etc.—for women teachers, officeholders, leaders, and others invested with religious authority, in a collection of contributions by world experts in their fields. The chapters revisit both older studies and offer new and unpublished research, exploring the many ways in which ancient Christian women's leadership could function. <>

BARBARIAN PHILOSOPHY: THE RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY by Guy G. Stroumsa [Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, Mohr Siebeck, 9783161574665]

I n the Roman Empire, Christianity came into being as a radical religious movement. This new concept of religion offered dramatic social and anthropological implications and shaped medieval perceptions.

Guy G. Stroumsa examines from various angles the radical nature of some of the early Christian beliefs and their dialectical transformation in the first centuries. He looks at the attitudes of Christians to non-Christians and the growth of intolerance in late antiquity. In addition he shows the extreme character of dualist trends, the role of which can be compared to 'a revolution within the revolution'.

This popular title is back in print. Stromsa is an exceptionally lucid writer with a narrative verve to his historical approach to late antique religious ferver.

CONTENTS

Early Christianity as Religious Revolution

> ... one should say that which appears to be plausible, looking upon the readiness to do so as evidence of modesty rather than of temerity, provided that one rests content with but a little success in matters that cause us great perplexity. —Aristotle, De Caelo II.12.291b 24ff.

For a number of years, I have sought to tackle from various angles the complex transformation of religion in the Roman Empire, from approximately the first to the fourth centuries, or, if one wishes, from the revolution of Paul to that of Constantine. To be sure, these two revolutions are quite different, but both deal with the nature and status of religion, and both define, or redefine, a new religion, of a new kind: Christianity. For the historian of religious phenomena, it makes sense to study them together. Quite consciously, then, this volume opts for the longue durée. What this approach loses in detailed analysis of the specific differences between the different stages, situations, texts, and tendencies, I hope it will gain in contextual vision of the major transformations that I seek to detect.

From the first to at least the fifth century, Early Christianity represents an extremely complex set of religious phenomena. In recent years, it has become common practice to speak, in the plural, of early Christianities, as a convenient way to emphasize this complexity. The sources are written in many different languages, and stem from various cultural and religious backgrounds. Their baffling richness, combined with various theoretical difficulties, concur in complicating the scholar's task. Rather than attempting a grand synthesis, I have preferred to tackle different but related problems, aspects of what I call the religious revolution of early Christianity. In so doing, however, I have constantly kept in mind my overall goal of understanding better a major transformation in the religious history of humankind and its mechanism. The student of ancient cultures and societies must attempt to decipher their internal logic, or grammar, to crack their code, as it were. If this can be done at all, it is through a process of trial and error. I have sought to approach early Christianity from as many different angles as

possible. In a sense, this process may be compared to a kaleidoscope, where a different but somewhat similar structure obtains from the same materials, each time one turns the lenses.

In a world which valued most ancestral traditions, patrioi nomoi, the basic intuitions and assumptions of Christianity were novel to Jews and gentiles alike. The religious revolution that it launched was not limited to the birth of new theological concepts, such as the (single) Incarnation or Trinitarianism, previously unknown to both Jews and gentiles. Powerful as these religious ideas may be, their greatest impact lies in their anthropological or psychological implications. A different theology entails not only a new conception of the Divinity, but also a new anthropology, a fresh perception of the human person, of its components and of its unity. New theological ideas, moreover, also have the power to transform, sometimes in radical fashion, conceptions of society and attitudes to outsiders. My approach throughout remains that of the historian of religious ideas.

Rather than focusing on their social context, this inquiry attempts to locate and emphasize the paramount power of concepts, beliefs, and theologoumena.

There are four main parts to the present volume, which seek to understand (1) the radical nature of some of the early Christian beliefs and their dialectical transformations in the first centuries, (2) attitudes to the other and the growth of intolerance in late antiquity, (3) the birth and development of new anthropological conceptions, and (4) the extreme character of dualist trends, the role of which can be compared to "a revolution within the revolution."

Part I, Radical religion, seeks to delineate the new and radical character of early Christianity, from its beginnings as religio illicita to the Constantinian revolution and the self-transformation of Christianity into a state religion. In the first chapters, I investigate various aspects of this radical character and of its evolution from the first to the fourth century.

As I try to show, much of the later tensions within Christianity are better understood in the light of two opposite tendencies, irenic and eristic, both found in the earliest stages of Christianity, indeed in the New Testament itself.

The dual structure of the new Scriptures of Christianity permitted the development of a series of religious equivalences and cultural translations, in ways previously unknown in Jewish or Hellenic culture, and thus permitted the dramatic hermeneutical revolution achieved by late antique Christian intellectuals. This revolution only began with the dialectical relationships between the two Testaments. A new paideia, perhaps the most decisive single step toward the formation of European culture, was developed in late antiquity, in which the Greek and Latin classics were studied together with the Christian Bible.

Before this new cultural synthesis was achieved, however, pagan and Christian intellectuals had been unable to understand that they held vastly different conceptions of religion. To hallowed traditions the Christians were opposing a

new and highly dynamic form of piety, which encouraged rather than feared religious change. This profound cultural misunderstanding highlights the vastly different presuppositions about the individual and society held by pagans and Christians. The latter had soon come to perceive themselves as neither Jews nor gentiles, but as a third kind of people, a triton genos, or tertium genus. They were proud to offer a new, "barbarian" wisdom, foreign to the Hellenic world.

Part II, Living with the Other, attempts to isolate some of the more salient factors which brought about that most puzzling fact of early Christian history, namely, the transformation of the religion of love into an intolerant religion, unable to accept competing visions and patterns of behavior. Indeed, before the end of the fourth century, all forms of religious expression, except for Orthodox Christianity, had become prohibited. There is no denying the painful fact that after the victory of Christianity, late antique society is strikingly less open, less pluralistic, less tolerant (although the modern concept of tolerance might be rather inadequate for ancient societies).

The first aspect to be emphasized in this context is the paradox of internalization and the new emphasis on conviction as a major factor of religious identity. The world of the cities around the Mediterranean in which the Christians lived in the second and third centuries offered what has been called "a market place of religions." The new religious pluralism forced the Christians as well as the Jews to live in close daily contact with what was for them a variety of intolerable phenomena. Idolatry, the worst of all sins, was everywhere: statues of the idols adorned the streets; meat from pagan sacrifices was sold at the butcher shop; various forms of magic and divination were practiced.

Far from fostering religious tolerance, this symbiosis encouraged the erection of strong inner boundaries.

Palestine offers a particularly interesting case in point. Tensions of various kinds were mounting between Jews, Christians, Samaritans, Manichaeans, Hellenized pagans, Arabs. In their daily religious life, however, these vastly different populations often behaved in similar ways, or even shared the same beliefs, unconsciously following the same syntax of religious behavior. One can indeed speak here of a religious koinè of sorts.

One of the clearest examples of the radicalization of Christian attitudes toward non-Christians in late antiquity is, of course, the development of anti-Jewish attitudes on the part of the Church Fathers. While anti-Judaism is inherent in Christianity from its very beginnings, one can discern a shift for the worse in late antique Christian discourse on Jews and Judaism, in a sense, a praeparatio antisemitica. The history of Christian discourse reveals the progressive demonization of the Jews, together with the transformation of religiosity in the fourth century.

Part III, Shaping the Person, seeks to follow the transformations of the concept of the person, and the new anthropological perceptions developed in early

Christianity. These transformations represent a major chapter in the intellectual history of the West. In various ways, early Christian beliefs and theology propounded new conceptions of the self and attitudes to the human person quite unknown in antiquity.

A clear example of this transformation can be seen in the passage from repentance to penance. The ritualization of repentance encouraged the public expression of deeply intimate transformations of the self. Various rituals of public expiation of sins and penance developed in the first Christian centuries emphasize the passage from an ethic of shame to an ethic of guilt as Christianity grew: public humiliation is the best warrant of the Christian reversal of values.

The bodily as well as spiritual expressions of repentance and sorrow reflect the new attitudes to the body and the whole person. Augustine's Confessions is not only a book sui generis reflecting Augustine's great originality. It also represents the emergence of a new subject, the acme of a major process in the history of western consciousness, which would have momentous implications for the future. The work is the logical consequence of a series of beliefs and attitudes developed in the first centuries in Christian theological literature. It also reflects a new sensitivity among early Christian intellectuals, directly related to some fundamental Christian theologoumena. The idea of homo imago Dei, of the unity between body and soul, and of resurrection, were all quite simply unthinkable for pagan philosophers. With his great psychological sensitivity, Augustine was able to reach dramatic conclusions based on the Christian theological premises, but he was certainly not the first or only thinker to insist on a new Christian concept of the person.

In contradistinction to Hellenic thinkers, Christian intellectuals did not locate the great divide between soul and body, or between the higher firmaments and the sublunar world. Rather, they insisted on the rift between the created cosmos and the transcendent God. The passage between the divine and the created world, although it was never completely blocked, had now become much more difficult to traverse than ever before. In their successful bid to redefine the borders of the self, and to restructure religious experience, the Church Fathers limited the experience of dreaming, or rather, the experience of discussing dreams, in a drastic way. In the Christian imaginaire, most dreams no longer announce the future, but rather reflect the state of the soul. In a sense, then, the Freudian revolution can be said to have begun with the early Christian Entzauberung der Welt.

Part IV is devoted to Radical dualism. If Christianity effected a revolution in patterns of religiosity, Gnosticism and Manichaeism were even more radical movements. The importance of dualist trends in early Christian history can hardly be overemphasized. In a sense, Basilides, Marcion, Valentinus, and Mani were all following to their radical consequences some of the deeper intuitions and choices of the various writings of the New Testament itself. Second-century Gnosis, however, cannot be said to have been on the margins of the Christian movement. To describe it as such is anachronistic, applying criteria of fourth-century orthodoxy. Ernst Troeltsch showed that it was precisely the revolutionary character of the dualist tendency within early Christianity, which explained how it lost the battle for ultimate self-definition of Christianity to the less radical trends. These had neutralized rather than emphasized some characteristics inherent in the earliest expressions of the new religion. The study of dualist trends (and Manichaeism is here as important as the various Gnostic schools) remains essential for any full understanding of the early Christian phenomenon. Encratism and antinomianism, for instance, are notoriously difficult to disentangle from one another. And we now know that the early monastic movement, with its demand of radical behavior, seems to have been dangerously close to various dualist theologies.

The Envoi deals with the tragic city in which Christianity was born two thousand years ago, and where this book was written. It offers a reflection on what the French call the imaginaire of Jerusalem in western Christian consciousness. Both the idea of a heavenly or mystical New Jerusalem, and the multiple translatio of the Anastasis, the Christian omphalos, reflect the radical transformation of geography and history, of memory and expectations, all effected by early Christianity: nothing less than a revolution in patterns of religious thought and behavior.

Early Christianity as Radical Religion

> Also in the case of evils the end or actuality must be worse than the potentiality; for that which is capable is capable alike of both contraries. —Aristotle, Metaphysics IX. 9.3,1051 a 16-18

An intense interest in religious radicalism is being forced upon us by puzzling contemporary developments, including religious revolutions, which seem to threaten the very texture of our social and intellectual life.' Even the ancient historian cannot quite hide from today's threats behind the heavy drapes of antiquarianism. Exclusivity, violence, intolerance, fundamentalism: these are some of the key concepts used, together with radicalism, in order to describe the multiple mischiefs of religion in our world. The following pages cannot attempt to sort out the overlapping semantic fields of these various concepts. Yet, by focusing on some paradoxical aspects of Christianity in its early history, they may shed some light on the process through which a dynamic religious movement can become threatening towards outsiders. Namely, can we account for the ways in which a persecuted religion became a persecuting religion, and the believers in the religion of love were able to invent new patterns of religious violence and intolerance, until then unknown in the ancient world?

Sociologists, indeed, seem to refer to religious radicalism in a rather restrictive sense. According to a recent definition, it is "a mode of thought and action that entails, first of all, the rejection of those surrounding cultural forms and values perceived as non-indigenous (or inauthentic) to the religious tradition."' Such a definition may well be valid in the case of contemporary trends in traditional religions; it is obviously off the mark when we seek to analyze new religious movements, often exhibiting a character of protest against the tradition from which

they stem. Such is the case, for instance, with early Christianity. Although the radical or revolutionary character of nascent Christianity has been recognized, it is my distinct impression that it has not been analyzed carefully enough. This is due, probably, to the fact that this character is

perceived only in bonam partem, while deep ambiguities or tensions in the overall structure of the new religion are usually ignored. An unpartheilich study of Early Christianity, such as nineteenthcentury scholars sought to establish, seems to remain a matter for the future. Thus, Christian radicalism, since it stems from love, can be defined in direct opposition to extremism,' or else, as Gerd Theissen has recently claimed, Christianity in its earliest stages represents a revolution in values (Wertrevolution), essentially different from a revolution seeking power, hence entailing violence.

The present investigation seeks to call attention to some theological structures of early Christianity, embedded in its foundational texts, and in their transformation during the first Christian centuries. It represents a study of intellectual, rather than social history, but is predicated upon the idea, best emphasized recently by Michel Foucault, that the discourse of a religion or culture is closely related to the practice of power. The late Foucault, as is well known, developed a deep interest in early Christianity, although his research in this area remained unfinished.' It should, of course, be noted from the outset that the correlation between theological conceptions (or even legislation) and practice is far from being direct and total. The social historian can show how behavior can be significantly different from proclaimed principles. Hence, a shrinking margin of theoretical toleration of outsiders in the Christianized society of late antiquity does not necessarily mean exclusion in the daily business of common life.6 Yet, the trends are there, which explain how the new, unstable, and precarious equilibrium can degenerate, as it did indeed.

To be sure, such an investigation runs the risk of anachronism: when we speak of religious tolerance and intolerance, are we forcing modern categories upon a society in which they are rather meaningless? The greatest caution is de rigueur, but the fact remains that ancient societies could afford, according to their evolution, more, or less, religious freedom — both individual and collective — or freedom of religious expression. In this matter, there is no doubt that the emergence of Christianity made a major difference. A. D. Nock had shown in his seminal study of conversion how in the Hellenistic world a new possibility of religious expression arose, established upon the choice of the individual rather than upon the secure and recognized boundaries of ethnos and tradition, the polymorphic exclusivity of archaic religions, that of Israel included. Christianity, as Nock well saw, presented the main example of the new attitude; predicated as it was upon the need to convert, the choice of faith in each individual, irrespective of ethnic identity, social class, or sex. As John North has most recently argued, the Mediterranean world in the first centuries of the common era exhibited a "supermarket" of religions.' In a sense, the victory of Christianity represents that of the fittest in the new world of religious pluralism. As North understood, the transformation of religious life "established a system of interactive competing religions," hence fostering, together with great religious creativity, great religious conflict. Not the least puzzling aspect of a Christian victory achieved in a world of religious pluralism, is the fact that the new ecumenical faith left so little place for difference and dissent. Late antiquity, indeed, shows the final transformation of religious exclusivity, through religious pluralism, into religious intolerance.9 Religious violence is not necessarily more common in the emerging world, but it can draw new theological justification, or at least latent encouragement, from a religion claiming a new, total, and universal grasp on truth.

Ambiguities of Earliest Christianity

The coexistence, in the New Testament, of both "irenic" and "eristic," or "peaceful" and "aggressive" tendencies is well-known. The context and implications of these opposite trends, which represent, as it were, a fundamental antinomic couple, are still in need of some clarification. This deep-seated ambiguity is directly related to the radical nature of earliest Christianity, a movement born within the chiliastic context of Jewish apocalypticism. <>

THE CRUCIBLE OF RELIGION IN LATE ANTIQUITY: SELECTED ESSAYS by Guy G. Stroumsa [Der Schmelztiegel der Religion in der Spätantike. Ausgewählte Aufsätze. Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum / Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity, Mohr Siebeck, 9783161606915]

The religious revolution of late antiquity and its intertwined religious history are reflected in a broad array of new forms of religious belief and practice, of which Christianity is only the most perceptible one. It is represented in the passage from polytheistic systems to monotheistic and dualist ones, as well as in the move from rituals centred upon sacrifices in temples to rituals established upon scriptures, in churches, synagogues, or mosques. This double dynamism of beliefs and rituals sheds light on the transformations of religious ethos. Guy G. Stroumsa's two-part volume reflects this double argument. The essays all focus on central aspects, such as in Part I on mental aspects of religion in the Roman Empire, as expressed in early Christian texts and traditions, and in Part II on religious communication across the empire's cultures and communities.

CONTENTS

Excerpt: Like its twin volume, Religion as Intellectual Challenge in the Long Twentieth Century: Selected Essays (Tübingen, 2021), this volume includes a number of texts written over a number of decades...There is no point in attempting here to summarize the twenty essays of this volume, written over a number of decades, mostly as contributions to workshops and conferences, and for the most part independently from one another. Most of them have been published in the past, and follow the style of various journals and publishers, in a number of countries. While most essays were written in English, a few were composed in French, my mother tongue. After some hesitation, I decided not to translate these into English, and to keep their original linguistic garb. I am pleased to retain in these two volumes of Selected Essays certain tangible marks of my intellectual biography. All essays have been lightly edited, also in order to follow the publisher's editorial policy, but it would have been futile to seek to update them.

I do not claim, of course, to deal with all, or even most of the key problems of late antique religious history. What I have sought to do, rather, is to adumbrate some of the major themes linking these problems together, as I perceived them at the time of writing. While these essays in no way amount to a search for a grand theory, I do hope they reflect my wish to search relentlessly for the new religious ethos emerging from the interface of religions in the long late antiquity.

Chapter 8 was written jointly with Ronnie Goldstein, and chapter 19 with Sarah Stroumsa. I wish to thank them both for having agreed to their new publication here. In the Conclusion, I briefly reflect on perceptions of time in Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In this way, I hope to emphasize the sacred character of history at the very core of the Abrahamic religions and of their ideas of salvation.

It remains for the reader, and not me, to judge the extent to which these essays point to a solution of historical riddles, and to decide whether they help us appreciate the almost infinite complexity and riches of late antique religious history. As I look at the traces of my own idiosyncratic trajectory, at least, I can detect in my quest more serendipity than a clearly preconceived plan. In the words of the Sinologist Marcel Granet: »la méthode, c'est le chemin une fois qu'on l'a parcouru.« In any case, I feel a profound gratitude for the intellectual effort and pleasure throughout the years spent on this interminable journey, across centuries and continents. I have been lucky to acquire many friends, in many places, on this journey, which I have accomplished together with the most demanding and most rewarding of companions: Sarah Stroumsa.

***

A New Religious Ethos

Late antiquity may be defined in a number of ways, some more restrictive and some broader, in terms of both space and time. According to all definitions, however, the focus is on the Christianizing Roman Empire, at a time when pagan cults were still present in mental as well as in physical landscapes. The religious dimension in the meeting of worlds, indeed, constitutes an essential character of late antiquity. For the historian of religion focusing on the interface between systems of belief and religious communities and its transformations, it makes sense to embrace the centuries from early Christianity to early Islam, and the Near East as well as the Mediterranean. It is only through both la longue durée and les vastes espaces that one may fully identify the new religious ethos blossoming in late antiquity, an ethos in which religious belief and religious praxis interact in new, previously unknown ways.

Two main paradigms seem to compete for the understanding of the deep transformations of religion in the Mediterranean and the Near East through those centuries. The classical paradigm emphasizes the essentially revolutionary character of the new forms of religion during that period. This

character is epitomized in the passage from paganism to Christianity (and later to Islam), or from polytheistic to monotheistic systems.

In the last generation, this paradigm has been seriously challenged, mainly by new approaches to late antique religious history. One often argues, in particular, for an essentially benign and gradual change, through the identification of a number of passages between the worldview of traditional religions and that of Christianity, as well as between the latter and the worldview of the early Islamic world.

The contradistinction between the revolutionary paradigm and the evolutionary one informs much of contemporary research. This rather artificial dichotomy, however, unduly blurs our understanding of intertwined religious history. While there is no serious doubt about the momentous transformation of religion in late antiquity, identifying it with the Christianization of the Roman Empire may be misleading. The religious revolution of late antiquity seems, rather, to be reflected in a broader array of new forms of religious belief and practice, of which Christianity is only the most perceptible one. One might then speak of revolution, but only as the final consequence of an incremental evolution – or re-elaboration – of ritual as well as theological transformations in a highly complex society.

The theological dynamism of the period is represented by the passage from polytheistic systems to monotheistic and dualist ones, while the ritual dynamism may be followed in the move from rituals centered upon sacrifices in temples to rituals established upon scriptures, in churches, synagogues, or mosques. This double dynamism of beliefs and rituals sheds light on the transformations of religious ethos. In a sense, the two parts of this book reflect this double argument. The essays in Part I mostly deal with mental aspects of religion in the Roman Empire, as expressed in early Christian texts and traditions. Those in Part II, on their side, deal with religious communication across cultures and communities in the Empire.

The classical paradigm, focusing on the passage from paganism to Christianity, is misleading in a number of ways. In implicitly ignoring other religious systems such as Manichaeism, or Zoroastrianism, as well as Gnostic trends, it misses the crucial importance of dualist theologies. Moreover, its implicit identification of monotheism with Christianity (not something self-evident) all but erases the monotheism professed by Jews, as well as that professed by some Hellenic philosophers, such as Plotinus. Finally, by subsuming all traditional religions under »paganism,« it distorts to the extreme a highly complex reality. It may well be that the passage to monotheism should not be identified with the rise of Christianity.

The presence of a number of different dualistic and monotheistic religious systems in the late antique Eastern Mediterranean and Near East points to the core importance of dualism in the religious history of the period. In its various forms, religious dualism expresses a tension within both the heavenly and the earthly world, both of which are perceived, in some way or other, as battlefields. Zoroastrian dualism, in which the good and the evil gods confront one another throughout cosmic and human history, is essentially ethical.6 In Second Temple Judaism, and then in early Christianity, Satan, who had been a rather pale figure in the Bible, grew in importance, becoming the main opponent to God within the divine world. Gnostic dualism represents a radicalization of this trend, sometimes mixed with Platonic dualism. Manichaeism, on its side, reflects the combination of Judeo-Christian and Zoroastrian dualisms. As the different dualist theologies clearly show, religious structures, even those seemingly as simple and clearly defined as monotheism, are far from stable. Their fluidity, their constant evolution, even their transformation through new arrangements of their elements, may evoke a kaleidoscope. In any case, the growth of dualist trends represents a major trait of late antique religion. One may argue that the confrontation between biblical monotheisms and dualist religions replaced, to a great extent, the previous clash between polytheism and

monotheism. In both cases, the core of the conflict seems to lie less in the number of the divinities involved than in the religious status of history, as expressed in the Hebrew Bible, an idea which was accepted by the Fathers of the Church but replaced by mythological ways of thought in Gnosis and in Manichaeism.

The scholar of Islamic philosophy Henri Corbin has discussed what he calls »the paradox of monotheism.« For him, monotheistic systems are condemned to remain unstable structures, regularly morphing into systems close to polytheism. This happens, Corbin says, because the transcendence of the one God is not really sustainable for humans, who need intermediary figures in the divine world, the angels. A similar remark, it seems to me, could be made about polytheistic systems in late antiquity. They show constant attempts to represent the divine world as hierarchies, on the top of which reigns a supreme god, who alone can rightly claim the name of god. One may therefore say that polytheistic systems, too, suffer from some structural instability, and this permits us to speak of the paradox of polytheism, which often tends to morph into some kind of monotheism. Rather than a passage from polytheism to monotheism, the virtual ubiquity of dualist structures of thought seems to represent a typical character of late antique thought patterns. In a sense, dualism represents an equilibrium between simplicity and complexity, retaining both closeness to monotheism and the recognition of complexity in the world of divine powers.

The prominence of esoteric trends in most religious (and philosophical) traditions in the ancient world is a reflection of the tensions inherent to dualistic perceptions of reality.9 For the esotericists, what is visible to all does not represent the highest level of reality. The testimony of the senses is misleading. True reality remains invisible to human eyes. In that sense, it remains purely spiritual, and can be grasped only through the spiritual senses.

Under such conditions, truth is not available to all, but only to an elite within the community. Where most imagine visible forms of the divine, the elect know that God is invisible. As is clear already in Plato's Second Letter, the idea of esotericism is related to the ambivalent status of writing in the ancient world, a written text being always susceptible to fall into unworthy hands. The most important truths, which should not be made available to all, must be transmitted only orally. Higher reality is often revealed in visions. As we know from the prophetic movement, visions always remained the privilege of religious virtuosi. In scriptural religions, moreover, esoteric doctrines often took the form of hermeneutical traditions: different levels of interpretation of the revealed scripture fit different publics. Only the elect, those usually called mystics in scriptural religions, have access to the highest, spiritual level of textual interpretation.

It is within the framework of such a fundamental skepticism toward the testimony of the senses that one must read the development, in the earliest stages of Christianity, of Docetism. According to this heresy, Jesus did not die on the cross, but only seemed to suffer. For the Docetists, then, the true Jesus had escaped, ascending to heaven, while someone else, taking his appearance, was crucified.

One of the most radical attitudes to be found among the early Christians, Docetism soon became a generic term for some of the most troubling heresies fought by the Church Fathers. Oddly enough, the puzzling phenomenon of Docetism does not seem to have elicited enough scholarly attention. Moreover, there is no general agreement upon a convincing definition of Docetism, and one is at a loss as to the focal point of the Docetistic world-view. The two main approaches seem to relate either to Christ's Incarnation or to his Passion. Either Christ was not really incarnated, as the Divine and matter could not have a common ground, and Christ would be totally spiritual in nature; or Christ was indeed incarnated, but did not really suffer on the cross. These two approaches are not identical. The first approach is broader, and is inclusive of the second. Many scholars seem to support the first approach, and to find the roots of Docetism in Platonic thought, or in what is

sometimes called, rather nebulously, »Graeco-Oriental Dualism.« For those scholars, Docetism argues that the human nature of Jesus is only a semblance. For those who support the second approach, which focuses on the crucifixion, it is Jesus's death, rather than his corporeal existence as such, which represented the scandal that the first Docetists sought to avoid.

It comes as no surprise that one of the major points of discord among the first Christians lay, precisely, in the question of the suffering, or the lack thereof, of Jesus Christ – a figure at the very intersection between humanity and divinity.

The central feature of the salutary mission of Jesus Christ, precisely, focuses on his passion, on his suffering. A man turned God, or a God turned man, in any case this passion was felt to be both powerful and shocking enough by both Jews and Greeks, as noted by Paul, who called him »a stumbling block to Jews, and foolishness to Gentiles« (I Cor. 1:23–24).

In the words of Cyril of Alexandria (floruit in the early fifth century):

> Yet being God by nature, he is considered to be out of reach from suffering (pathous) . . . he accepted birth in the flesh, by a woman; he gave himself, I repeat, a body able to taste death, but also to be raised again, so that, while he remains impassible (hina menõn autos apathës) one may say that he suffered in his own flesh.

For Cyril, both Greeks and Jews are unable to recognize that Jesus's suffering on the cross is neither madness (the Greeks, in their ignorance, did not recognize his human nature) nor a cause for shame (the Jews, in their derangement, could not believe he was the Son of God). The truth is that he at once suffered (in his own flesh) and did not suffer (in the nature of Divinity). It is, indeed, only within the double Jewish and Greek matrix of Christianity that Docetism can be fully understood.

Martyrdom, which reflects the agreement, or even the will to suffer in one's body in order to imitate Jesus, is thus established on the opposite presupposition: the Christian should suffer in his or her body, just as Jesus had suffered. The new religious ethos reflected in Christian martyrdom also represented a major transformation of emotions and their representation.

The idea that the truest, highest reality, does not always appear to the senses, but must be deciphered through its traces, was of course fundamental in early Christian discourse. But it came from a long tradition, in Greek as well as Hebrew literature. Docetism, one of the earliest Christian heresies, eventually disappeared, but not without leaving in Christian thought, as a deep scar, a sense of fundamental hesitation about sensory reality.

The double perception of reality was replicated also at the anthropological level. Here, the double level of perception entails a fundamental distinction between body and soul, as well as one between two kinds of humans, those who are essentially spiritual, able to receive true knowledge of the divinity, and those who remain irremediably enchained by their body to the world of matter. Direct consequences of such anthropology include esoteric traditions, which are available only to the »spirituals,« while they are denied to simpler, lower believers.

Duality, then, represents a major principle of the new religious ethos emerging in our period. At the theological level, one finds it in dualist trends, such as Gnostic Christian groups, and especially in Manichaeism, the opposition between the ultimate Good God of the spiritual world (and of the elite among humans), versus the evil, or at least inept, Demiurge, creator of the material world. Gnosis, or true, secret knowledge, is usually acquired through ecstasy, an altered state of consciousness, so that the person itself is split between a lower, material body, and a spiritual double, which is heavenly.

The same dual principle regulates both vision of spiritual reality (whence mysticism) and the two-tiered organization of religious communities. This principle rules religious society, differentiating these two groups of practitioners, the electi, privy to esoteric knowledge, and the auditores, whose belief is not based on the deep understanding of the former (to use Augustine's terms for the two classes of Manichaeans). Just like in Buddhism, those »fellow travellers« support the core community, which the Buddhists call the Sangha, without really belonging to it. The God-fearers (yirei-shamaym, or phoboumenoi of Judaism), represent an important category of monotheists without a clear revelation of their own.

In the world of late antiquity, religious communities, even when established on highly different principles, existed together, learning to live side-by-side, usually in awkward coexistence, more often than not pitted one against the other, in various styles of competition or conflict. Religious history, then, is the history of intertwined religious communities. It makes little sense, for instance, to depict the trajectory of, say, Christianity in its first centuries independently of the religious life of both Jews and pagans in the same period. Heresies are a special case of the conflicting attitude between religious phenomena so characteristic of our period. Within the broad spectrum of the monotheistic (and dualistic) religious pattern, conflicting attitudes were expressed in different ways of hermeneutics, of reading the scriptures. Such a hermeneutical web of communities obviously highlights their polemical competitions. At the same time, it reflects the uneasy convivencia between them, as well as the religious common language, or koine, in which they all somehow partook.

The existence of a religious koinë of sorts underlines the global character of the world of late antiquity. It is within communities that religion is lived in our period. These communities, in their turn, function within webs of communication, where ideas, stories and practices circulate, ceaselessly undergoing transformations, some of which are radical enough to be considered real mutations. In a sense, such a world of communities is a globalized world, in which all religions have become diaspora religions.

The constant movement of beliefs and rituals within the web of religious communities, however, resembles in no way to the free and untraceable movement of electrons. There is a clear vector in late antique religious history, towards structural simplification, i. e., a clear diminution of the margins of religious legitimacy, and a drive towards what has been called la pensée unique. This vector leads to a simplified reality, in which one speaks of religious dissent rather than of hermeneutical richness. In the new world that is emerging in late antiquity, identity becomes essentially defined by religion rather than by ethnicity or culture.

At least for students of religion, then, late antiquity represents a new axial age of sorts. As is well known, the concept of Axial Age, launched (or rather, re-launched) by Karl Jaspers in the aftermath of the Second World War, describes a striking series of (allegedly) similar transformations in thought and religion which occurred in societies as different as those of Greece, Israel, Iran, India, and China, more or less around the middle of the first millennium B.C.E.

To some extent, late antiquity represents, at least for Mediterranean and Near Eastern societies, a turning point for religion and culture no less significant than that of the Achsenzeit. In two monographs, I have sought to show how two main characteristics of religion in the long late antiquity reflect such a transformation. In The End of Sacrifice, focusing on ritual, I discussed the long-range consequences of the disappearance, or at least the weakening, of sacrificial cults, mainly thanks to the combined efforts of Jews and Christians. In The Scriptural Universe of Ancient Christianity, I dealt with the status and roles of books in the world of early Christians, as well as with the idea of book religion and its implications, both cultural and religious. I approached the question at hand as a historian of religions rather than as a church historian, setting it within the

broader perspective of what can be called the scriptural movement of late antiquity. Like Max Müller, I believe that in order to be fully understood, religious phenomena should be studied within a broad historical, cultural and social context. Thus, I emphasized the double paradigm shift, cultural as well as religious, which can be detected in late antiquity. At the core of the religious paradigm shift lies what I have called »the end of sacrifice, « i.e., the broad abandonment of public blood-sacrifice as a core religious ritual, in many religious systems of the Mediterranean and Near East, starting with Judaism, Christianity, and Manichaeism. As my argument there is presented in chapter 11 in this collection, I do not need to discuss it here. I only wish to note, at least, that our period underwent some kind of what we call now »globalization,« in which the clash of the Sasanian and the Roman Empires did not prevent the spread of cultural patterns (in particular, Aramaic as a lingua franca) across political borders. The most striking consequence of such a globalization may be the spread of Manichaeism across Asia, as well as in various provinces of the Western Roman Empire. We should remind ourselves, here, that Manichaeism is the first religion established by its founder as universal, or world religion.

I wish instead to reflect briefly on the core of the cultural paradigm shift, which may be identified with the passage from scroll to codex, as the common physical support of books. From the first to the fourth century, these parallel transformations of the status and function of books would be accomplished, highlighting the dialectical relationship between culture and religion. More precisely, on may speak of intertwined religious and cultural histories. Born within the monotheistic climate of Judaism, Christianity grew up in »a world full of gods,« to use Keith Hopkins' pregnant expression. This was a world, moreover, in which Greek, Latin, and Aramaic were vying for the transmission of cultural traditions. Cultura christiana, when it eventually appeared, represented the ultimate result of a complex process, and would provide the backbone of European culture throughout the Middle Ages, until the Renaissance at least. As a religion of the book, then, early Christianity reflects a particularly intricate mixture of religious and cultural transformation. It is the task of the historian to search for the rules of such transformations, for their grammar.

A religion of the book, as should by now be clear, is not only a religion established upon a »sacred book,« which is held to be divinely revealed. The very idea of a revealed book entails a cascade of consequences. The community, or the network of communities, carrying this book and revering its origin, must endlessly protect, copy, translate, and interpret it. Those communities, then, live in nothing else than a scriptural universe, and its members, or at least its religiously active members, soon develop an intimacy of sorts with the holy text. In ancient societies, in which literacy was dramatically more limited than what has become common in the modern world, memory was much more developed than today, and oral traditions played a role that we find difficult to imagine. In many ways, we have now lost the »scriptural intimacy<< that was common in pre-modern societies.

In a recent book, Karen Armstrong, one of the most persistent and powerful voices in the eminently respectable task of popularizing religious scholarship in the Anglophone world, deals at length with precisely this predicament of ours. For the explanation of our predicament, Armstrong turns to the cognitive sciences. More precisely, she refers to the two hemispheres of the brain: the right hemisphere, essential to imagination, and hence to the creation of poetry, music, and religion; and the left hemisphere, identified with logical reasoning, responsible for science and technology. The predominance of science in the modern world, she says, has brought with it an imbalance between the two hemispheres, a hypertrophy of the left and an atrophy of the right. One of the most dramatic consequences of this new human condition is the loss of our former familiarity with the language of religion – in other words, our present religious illiteracy. We no longer know how to read religious texts. We have lost the hermeneutical key, says Armstrong, which is needed to open them. These texts do not simply carry knowledge, but sustain a way of life, and are a means of self-

transformation. As such, they must be read according to traditional rules of interpretation. Hermeneutics, in such a scheme, reflects both epistemic contents and behavioral patterns.

Some scriptures, however, were composed as oral literature, and meant to be recited, or sung, in ritual. Such scriptures were redacted only later. For the Qur'an, this process seems to have lasted a few decades. The Zoroastrian Gathas, on the other hand, remained oral for more than a millennium. It is amazing that such texts could stay quite stable for so long, even when their language, Avestan, had long ceased to be understood, even by the priests. One should however remember that in religious history, texts do not only evolve from an oral to a written form. In the »scriptural universe« of a religion, there is also room for the reverse movement, for the oral interpretation of written texts. Actually, hermeneutics is infinitely complex: texts are sung, memorized, commented upon, translated, and enacted in ritual. In order to grasp the life of sacred texts in the historical development of a given religion, one has to postulate a meta-textuality of sorts. Armstrong argues that in a globalized world, we should consider ourselves as the heirs of all the various scriptures and religious traditions. Only such an approach, she says, can permit us to move from toleration of the other to a new symbiosis. It is hard to disagree with such a generous vision, although this is a cultural task rather than a religious challenge.

Developing a deep understanding of other people's religious scriptures and of their religious history necessitates, to use anthropological vocabulary, an etic approach, not an emic one. Hence, it represents primarily a broadening of one's cultural memory, rather than a transformation of one's religious tradition. Translating the religious traditions of others into the terms of one's own is a very old habit, well known in the ancient world. The most dramatic such attempt is probably that of Mani, who in the third century c.e. designed the first consciously universal religion. Manichaeism sought to integrate into a world system the gods and prophets of all nations – Zarathustra, Jesus, Buddha – all, that is to say, except the god and prophets of the Jews, whom Mani perceived as evil. This last trait of Manichaean religious mythopoiesis underlines the late antique failure to imagine a genuinely universal religion. <>

Religion as Intellectual Challenge in the Long Twentieth Century: Selected Essays by Guy G. Stroumsa [Religion als intellektuelle Herausforderung im langen zwanzigsten Jahrhundert. Ausgewählte Aufsätze, Mohr Siebeck, 9783161607202] Published in English.

At the dawn of the twentieth century, many leading European intellectuals, perceiving that religion was in rapid decline in their secularizing societies, thought that it was doomed to soon become marginal, and eventually to disappear, throughout the world. A century later, such naïve beliefs have collapsed. We are struck by the complexity of religious transformations in our globalized world. Today, religion often appears to have been hijacked by murderous »thugs for God's sake, who come in various shapes and colours, but always with the same intentions they are often also willing to act on. In the essays in this volume, Guy G. Stroumsa reflects on some leading intellectuals, such as Sigmund Freud, Martin Buber, Emmanuel Levinas and Carlo Ginzburg, and how they approached an understanding of religious phenomena from their own disciplinary viewpoints. The volume closes with comments on crucial problems and methods in the contemporary study of religion.

CONTENTS

Religion terminable and interminable

Throughout the twentieth century, many leading European intellectuals, perceiving the rapid decline of religion in their secularizing societies, thought that it was condemned to soon become marginal, and to eventually disappear, also throughout the rest of the world. These thinkers and scholars embodied the core heritage of the Enlightenment: religion, largely associated with traditional societies, was counterposed to reason, mainly responsible for the achievements of modern science. Religion, for them, essentially belonged to the past of humankind, while reason pointed to its future. This radical dualism ignored the polyvalence characteristic of the very concept of religion, which refers to a number of phenomena quite different from one another, individual as well as collective, in societies and cultures very dissimilar from one another. In any case, this opposition sought to erase, or at least significantly weaken the status and impact of religion in society. There was much wishful thinking in that approach: religion was doomed by progress and liberalism: »Écrasez l'infâme!« often remained the order of the day. Customary rituals were to be expunged together with traditional beliefs. For the French Ernest Renan, for instance, at once a leading scholar of religion and public intellectual throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, science was on its way to replace Christianity, while the history of religions, denoting a new fusion of history, philosophy and philology was poised to become a core discipline of the humanities.

To be sure, such a simplistic view of things did not convince everyone. In the wake of Romanticism, various postures rejected the intellectual heritage of the radical Enlightenment, thus allowing a broad array of possible bonds between religion and reason. Essentially, one argued, myth and ritual, together with faith and beliefs, could not be simply perceived as belonging to the infancy of humankind. On the contrary, religious phenomena would always remain, part and parcel of the very essence of human societies. More precisely, mythologies of all peoples offered a perception of the cosmos and insights on human nature that went deeper than the achievements of rationalist thought.

At most, traditional myths and rituals could morph into new forms of belief and praxis. Religions could certainly undergo mutations in history, but were not going to really disappear.

Throughout the twentieth century, political religions have represented the most brutal mutations of religion. Fascist and communist revolutionary regimes have been equally apt in devising both potent myths and powerful rituals, meant to encompass many aspects of society, and involving most of its members. From right thugs read their scriptures, displaying their brutalist reading in order to recoil from acknowledging the other. As particularly vicious and distorted versions of all religions (certainly not only Islam, as the media would want us to believe) are threatening everywhere, reassessment of religion and of its avatars has become the imperative order of the day. Despite appearances, »thugs for God's sake« are not to be found among monotheists alone. Buddhist monks and Hindu mobs are as effective as any at massacring their miscreant neighbor. Where, and why, have leading thinkers gone so utterly wrong?

An element of answer may reside in the concept of cognitive dissonance. Scriptures are traditionally edited and interpreted by scribes and, more broadly, religious elites. These, at first devoid of any political power, may at some point find themselves in a new political situation, in which they suddenly walk the corridors of power, without having first found the time or the will to offer new hermeneutical approaches, develop literalist readings of their scriptures. This is, for instance, what happened to Christianity in Constantine's days, and also what happens to many religions, almost everywhere, in our own, tragic times. Obscurantism is active at all times, in all religions, everywhere. Intolerance and violence are both endemic to the human condition, and religion acts here more as fuel than as root.

Throughout the twentieth century, many, perhaps most intellectuals, it seems, found themselves without adequate tools to explore and gauge phenomena that seemed, prima facie, inexplicable. We are struck, today, by the complexity of religious transformations in our globalized world. More than ever, we realize that no religion is an island, and that religious violence circulates as in a whirlpool, leaving us unable to monitor its trajectory.

The essays in Part I mainly deal with ideas developed in the first half of the century, while those in Part II reflect more contemporary approaches and debates. The three essays of Part III focus on problems rather than on figures. From Arthur Balfour, a leading British politician who dabbled in philosophy, to Carlo Ginzburg, an outstanding early modern historian searching for traces of ancient patterns of thought and behavior, each subject of my investigations is a sui generis intellectual. When I try to determine how these figures were chosen, and these essays written, it is serendipity that first comes to mind. Other occasions could of course have led me to write additional essays, on different topics. In any case, there is no need to belabor the fact that this book does not attempt in any way to present an overview of twentieth-century intellectual confrontation of religion. It reflects, rather, how a small number among them perceived religion as a problem, a challenge that could not be ignored. These intellectuals confronted religion from their different disciplinary viewpoints – and even though some of them could say, like Max Weber, that they were »absolut unmusikalisch« concerning religion.

Today, post-colonial, post-modern and feminist approaches, side by side with cognitive methods, seem to be almost de rigueur in the study of religion, as in much else. Very little of these approaches will appear in the following pages. This does not mean that I have no views on those matters. It highlights the fact, rather, that the essays collected here, rather than providing milestones of the disciplinary study of religion, only reflect my own trajectory.

Intellectual daring and courage (as well as, often, courage tout court) is needed in order to probe religion in a critical way. Nineteenth-century heralds of modern scholarship on religion such as Ernest Renan, Julius Wellhausen, William Robertson Smith, together with many others with and after them, paid a high personal price for crossing the boundaries of their own religious communities. For others, such as Emile Durkheim and Max Weber, who sought to approach all religions and societies with the very same tools, equanimity demanded constant, almost infinite intellectual and psychological pains. If Sigmund Freud, Martin Buber, Gershom Scholem, Emmanuel Levinas, and also Henri Bergson and Simone Weil, who all appear in these essays, had to refashion, in so many different ways, their own Jewish selves, this was directly linked to their reflection upon the nature of religious phenomena.

The problem of religion for twentieth-century European intellectuals has been reflected in a vast spectrum of disciplines, much larger than those directly implicated in the academic study of religion. These essays, it should be noted, do not discuss thinkers from Asian and African developing societies. American scholars too, on their side, shine by their (almost total) absence from the following pages. Both in the New World and in the Old ones, important and original approaches of religion have been, and still are developed, offering insights which at times elude European scholars. Their absence here reflects – and highlights – my limitations. But in any case, it is the long history of European intellectual involvement with religion – an involvement starting with Herodotus, and transformed with Christianity – that still constitutes the background of any present-day reflection on religion. Serious intellectual engagement with religious phenomena can be found among philosophers, historians and philologists; sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists; and today, cognitive scientists and historians of science. It is not the historian's role, of course, to imagine and sketch the future of religion. Today, however, we know at least that historical forms of religion are not vanishing, and are not being replaced by science.

Is there one overarching concept comprehending religion as a universal phenomenon, without becoming lured by its seductive powers? Any such organizing principle runs the immediate hazard of any ideology: overly simplifying – and hence falsifying – reality's infinite complexity. And yet, if pressed to propose one approach that might be particularly useful to us for understanding religion, in its countless manifestations, I would suggest to look at it from the perspective of cultural memory. As a concept, cultural memory was forged by the art historian Aby Warburg and the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs. Like all aspects of memory, it involves the individual, but focuses on societies throughout time. The concept, recently applied to the study of religion and its multiple impact on individuals and societies, in particular by Jan Assmann, provides a way to assess the continued significance of religion in the plurality of cultural traditions in a globalized and secularized world. Perhaps for the first time in history, a world in which cultures, societies and religions are interconnected as never before creates new syncretic beliefs and practices. It also prompts new forms of cultural memory, which actively involve intertwined religious history. In the new key of cultural memory, religion does not need to be declined in the singular. Pope Pius XI could exclaim, in dark times, »Spiritually, we are all Semites.« One aspect of globalization impacts deeply on our perception of religion: it has made us all, culturally, heirs to multiple religions, not to a single one. Embracing the new complex inheritance of cultural memory may hold a key to the growth of religious expression less toxic than those which threaten today the very fabric of our societies.

In studying religious phenomena within their whole historical background, the scholar of religion plays the role of a Kulturkritik, often unwillingly. Today, if traditional religions intend to retain their significance as a key part of our human cultural heritage, they must radically transform themselves, reject claims for absolute truth, and accept non-violence as an imperative. The humanist's perception of religion demands its relativization, not its disappearance.

In the Epilogue and the Envoi, I briefly describe my own route as a historian of religion, and reflect on both the interface and the antinomies between dispassionate scholarship and involved citizenship. In method, the student of religion must wear the mask of the agnostic. At the end of a career, however, one may, and perhaps one should, reveal one's true face. <>

FINAL JUDGEMENT AND THE DEAD IN MEDIEVAL JEWISH THOUGHT by Susan Weissman [The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization in association with Liverpool University Press, 9781906764975]

Through a detailed analysis of ghost tales in the Ashkenazi pietistic work Sefer hasidim, Susan Weissman documents a major transformation in Jewish attitudes and practices regarding the dead and the afterlife that took place between the rabbinic period and medieval times. She reveals that a huge influx of Germano-Christian beliefs, customs, and fears relating to the dead and the afterlife seeped into medieval Ashkenazi society among both elite and popular groups. In matters of sin, penance, and posthumous punishment, the infiltration of Christian notions was so strong as to effect a radical departure in Pietist thinking from rabbinic thought and to spur outright contradiction of talmudic principles regarding the realm of the hereafter. Although it is primarily a study of the culture of a medieval Jewish enclave, this book demonstrates how seminal beliefs of medieval Christendom
and monastic ideals could take root in a society with contrary religious values-even in the realm of doctrinal belief.

Review

"'This exceptional piece of work demonstrates almost beyond question that elements of Sefer Hasidim's perception of key aspects of the afterlife were influenced by an array of beliefs current in the larger society involving both theology and folklore... The theses proffered are persuasive, grounded
in a command of rabbinic material and familiarity with both Christian doctrines and European folktales... This is an eye-opening work that will have a significant impact on medieval Jewish studies."
David Berger, Yeshiva University

"Weissman's work is a masterpiece of history, splendidly written. It displays a rare maturity and a high degree of mastery of the sources cited, but more important, a high degree of historical intuition and intelligence in their interpretation ... I am confident that it will become a classic of
medieval Jewish studies; by the same token, I am sure that medieval researchers and students of Christian cultural space will also find in this book both matters of substance and stimulation that will enhance the general understanding of the period."
Sylvie Anne Goldberg, cole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales

"Weissman's study, as remarkable for its erudition as for its precision in textual analysis, sheds new light on key concepts that the Ashkenazi Jews of the high Middle Ages shared with local Christians. It shows how Sefer Hasidim reflects ideas that contradict rabbinic and talmudic tradition, a development that Weissman attributes to Jewish contact with the dominant Christian culture. ... An

outstanding work likely to be of enduring importance."
Jean Claude Schmitt, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales

"A superb study of how Germanic and even Christian ideas about the nature and time of divine judgment and the complex relationship between the living and the vibrantly alive dead influenced Jewish thought. It is the first serious proof of common cultural notions of an entire area of human experience
(and not simply of an idea or ceremony or two) since Trachtenberg's Jewish Magic and Superstition. It makes a major contribution to our understanding of medieval Ashkenaz."
Haym Soloveitchik, Yeshiva University

"Weissman has access to Christian society only at second hand, through the abundance of North American libraries and the large amount of work and of the intelligence used here to make the most of it. In addition to the works in Hebrew and English, one must welcome not only the bibliographical mention but also the effective use in the text of numerous French-language studies, a rare occurrence in the intellectual circles from which this book comes." (Translated from French)
Jean-Pierre Rothschild, Notes Bibilographies

CONTENTS

This book is actuality, two books. Although not formally structured as such, it contains two distinct studies, which conceptually, although not thematically, divide it into two. One study assesses the degree of cultural embeddedness that was manifest among the Jews of medieval Ashkenaz with regard to their beliefs and practices surrounding the dead and their world. This first study seeks to contribute to the general research on death and the afterlife in medieval Europe by showing how some of the current beliefs and rituals were cross-culturally shared by neighbours, Jews and Christians alike. It compares medieval Jewish beliefs regarding the dead and their world to those of an earlier period, the great midrashic, talmudic thought-world of the rabbis which medieval Jews inherited. The portrait that emerges will hopefully contribute to a clearer conception of the unique cultural and religious history of medieval Ashkenaz.

The second study presented in this book pertains specifically to the German Pietists (Hasidei Ashkenaz), an elitist group of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Ashkenazi Jews that was heir to a

mystical tradition, and whose leader, R. Judah the Pious, proposed a radical religious and social programme. The subjects of many studies, the Pietists have been examined for their mystical beliefs,' social theories, and models of communal organization,' as well as their supra-legal system of law entitled retson babore and their religious programme,' their doctrine of penance,

attitude towards women, and views on martyrdom,' among others. Their very existence as a movement? or a sect,' has been debated as well as the relative impact they had on their contemporaries and later generations' This study seeks to evaluate the particular views of the Pietists on matters pertaining to the dead and the afterlife. In its exploration of the theories of sin and punishment, doctrines of atonement and penance, and attitudes towards prayer for the dead and Divine judgement that R. Judah puts forth, this second study arrives at conclusions regarding the very nature of Pietism—its influences, its origins, and even possible reasons for its swift dissolution.

These two books intersect through the medium of another book, the great religious-ethical work of the Pietists, Sefer hasidim (Book of the Pious). In the 1930s, Joshua Trachtenberg produced a study of the huge infiltration of non-Jewish popular notions and practices into Judaism as lived by Franco-German and east European Jewry from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries." Among other works, he used Sefer hasidim as a valuable resource. Even before that, in the previous century, Moritz Gudemann detected the influence of Christian currents upon the thinking of R. Judah the Pious." Since then, scholars have argued about the question of outside influence upon Sefer hasidim, specifically in relation to its doctrine of penance, and have taken extreme positions at either end of the spectrum as well as compromise positions in between.

In this book I explore the nature of this influence, and assess how far death-related beliefs and practices that circulated in the GermanoChristian environment of the time penetrated Sefer hasidim. This thirteenthcentury work is a rich storehouse of information on popular notions, practices, and sensibilities reflective of high medieval German Jewish society. Although the German Pietists appear to have had little influence even in their own time, and despite the clear pietistic programme of its author, Sefer hasidim contains a multitude of descriptions of everyday situations which present a realistic portrayal of late twelfth- to thirteenth-century German Jewish life. Add to this the fact that the book is clearly popular in its reach and it becomes legitimate to assume that the images, ideas, and practices regarding the dead and the hereafter which it records were popularly known or imagined. It is the working hypothesis of this study that Sefer hasidim can be successfully mined to detect such attitudes and practices, which were the common property of Pietist and non-Pietist alike.

In particular, I have employed the ghost tales in Sefer hasidim to explore the larger issue of the role that the dead and beliefs about the afterlife play in the book and in medieval Ashkenazi society in general. Termed 'the invasion of ghosts' by Jean-Claude Schmitt, a flood of stories involving the dead inundated western Christendom during the high Middle Ages. I propose that, although few in number compared to those prevalent in non-Jewish sources, the ghost tales of Sefer Maim are outgrowths of this larger phenomenon. By comparing these tales with external contemporary sources, such as Icelandic sagas, ancient Germanic tales, high medieval exempla (illustrative or moralizing tales), early medieval visionary accounts, historical and literary chronicles, miracle stories, saints' lives, and monumental church art, I conceptualize the role that the dead and beliefs about the afterlife played in the society of the living. I have tried to uncover the nature and extent of the outside influence upon these conceptualizations by contrasting the material contained in Sefer Maim with internal Jewish sources, both antecedent—rabbinic, post-rabbinic, and geonic and contemporary—tosafist commentary, halakhic literature, pow commentaries, illuminated manuscripts, and Pietist writings. All this with the goal of enriching our understanding of Ashkenazi Jewish culture in general, and the unique world-view of the Pietists in particular.

In establishing the specific outlook of the Pietists, I have only used material that stems from the writings of R. Judah the Pious, a leader of the movement, and those in his circle, not sources that merely report on them. Thus, I have not included the cycle of miracle stories that surround the persona of R. Judah and his father, R. Samuel the Pious, contained in the Ma'aseb bukh, a Jewish hagiographical work of the early modem period. Eli Yassif has argued that, although the stories surrounding R. Judah are found in a sixteenth-century manuscript, they form part of the earliest strand of tales and originate from around the year 1300. Even granting the early date of these stories (a contested matter), it is still an open question whether wonder tales of holy men reflect what a holy man was or the mind of the people who composed the tales. I maintain that, with a few exceptions, these stories are unlike those found in Sefer hasidim. They differ totally from the unique atmosphere of Sefer hasidim, not to speak of the values expressed and endorsed there. Universal consent has it that R. Judah is one of three major figures that led the Hasidei Ashkenaz (R. Judah, his father, and his pupil, R. Eleazar of Worms) and that Sefer basidim reflects the Pietist Weltanschauung, so I find it implausible that one figure could generate two sharply different ideological images. If someone wishes to insist that such is the case, they are entitled to their view; I am analysing the corpus that has for centuries been seen as the work of this famous figure and that is sufficient for me. Since, in their descriptions of the dead and the afterlife, the miracle stories of the Ma'aseb bukb paint a very different portrait of R. Judah the Pious than the one that emerges from the pages of Sefer hasidim, I feel the miracle stories reflect the opinions of their redactors (and their intended audience) rather than offer a true description of the man and his views.

When dealing with material from Sefer hasidim itself, it, too, remains an open question whether or not the book reflects a unified outlook. Given its aggregate nature and the tangled question of authorship, one might conclude that it is a composite work. In fact, some isolated passages within it have been shown to be contradictory and may be the work of editors and compilers who freely inserted their own or others' material into the texts. The bewildering variety of topics covered in the book supports the supposition that one author may not be responsible for every single passage in it. Inbal Gur has gone so far as to argue that R. Judah's authorship can never be established with absolute certainty since nothing currently exists that was penned by him. On the other hand, Ivan Marcus points out the segmented nature of the book and attributes it to the distinctive features of its composition. An 'open book', Sefer hasidim results from the combination of a multitude of parallel editions (rather than one original) built upon shorter units of texts disjunctively combined. Despite this multi-layered structural characterization, Marcus marshals a host of evidence which connects R. Judah the Pious with many passages within the otherwise anonymously written Sefer hasidim and establishes him as its primary author.

While I agree that a sole individual is not the author of every section of the book, I argue, on the basis of thematic evidence presented in this study with regard to matters of death and the afterlife, that there exists a consistency of opinion in Sefer hasidim on these issues that points to a single prominent voice. Of the three leaders of the German Pietists, two main figures stand behind Sefer hasidim—R. Judah the Pious and R. Eleazar of Worms. Since the opinion I find in Sefer Maim does not always align with the view of R. Eleazar, by elimination it stands to reason that it reflects that of R. Judah. I will therefore speak of R. Judah as the author of the work when citing passages that relate to these matters, and even in areas where his views are in consonance with those of R. Eleazar. However, should someone insist that the major voice speaking in Stier hasidim is that of another Pietist, I would not argue with them as it would not affect my basic argument about the views of the book on the dead and the afterlife, sin and punishment, or ghosts and final judgement. Personally, I feel it is highly improbable that major themes in the work are the making of an anonymous hasid; but if someone wishes to substitute all my mentions of R. Judah with 'the hasid', he or she should feel free to do so; I will ascribe that voice to R. Judah. I would argue further that the best way to address

this problem is not by scouring medieval sources for attributions of authorship, but rather by testing, through a series of thematic studies such as this one, the unity of its thought on specific issues.

Medieval Ashkenaz as a cultural milieu included the Jewish communities of Germany (the empire north of the Alps), France north of the Loire, and England—a French community dating from the Norman conquest in z o66. The temporal contours of the study reflect the period in which Ashkenaz flourished as a creative Jewish centre; its first literary traces date from around the year moo, while its intellectual creativity came to an end in the late thirteenth century in northern France and England, and in the early years of the fourteenth century in Germany.

Historians of western Europe have documented major transformations in attitudes and practices related to death and the hereafter which took place in that period. One such transformation consisted of a movement away from the perception of death as a generalized, objective experience and towards a more subjective, individualized notion of it. Belief in personal judgement after the death of the individual similarly became widespread at the time. The rise of the Cluniac cult of the dead, with its annual commemoration of all Christians who have passed on, can be dated back to around the year moo. The following two centuries produced an abundance of works of varying genre, each of which contains myriads of tales of the ordinary dead who return to the world of the living. In the realm of the hereafter, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed the rise to prominence of Purgatory as a distinct locus, separate from Heaven and Hell. Historians of popular culture point to ancient pre-Christian notions of the dead, still extant in high medieval Europe, that played no small role in the widespread acceptance of Purgatory and in the promotion of the idea of reciprocal relations between the living and the dead. This study builds upon the work of historical anthropologists who have laboured in the field of the study of death and the afterlife.

Historians of medieval Jewry have also pointed to the primacy of the high medieval period in the shaping of Jewish practices and attitudes regarding the dead. That period was particularly fertile in this regard as it gave rise to the Yizkor service, the Jewish ceremony of commemorating souls, and parallels between the memorbukbs of Ashkenaz and medieval monastic necrologies, libri vitae (books of lives) and libri memorials (books of commemoration), have been documented. In terms of the hereafter, the practice of reciting the mourners' Kaddish—a prayer performed by the living for the benefit of the dead—emerged in medieval Ashkenaz. Apart from the Kaddish, liturgical practices rooted in an ancient belief in the sabbath rest of souls in Gehenna sprouted and flourished in the communities of Ashkenaz at this time.

Bearing in mind these simultaneous shifts in consciousness and praxis within both the dominant culture of Christian Europe and the subculture of medieval Ashkenaz, I have sought to discover whether these changes were related or merely coincidental. Even though the Jews of medieval Christendom strictly adhered to traditional rabbinic norms and practices, and maintained cultural boundaries with the surrounding society, the small size of their communities and the socio-economic ties they developed with their Christian neighbours often brought them into close contact with those neighbours' beliefs and practices. My general readings in the areas of death and the afterlife showed enough similarity to lead me to suspect that there was some degree of influence of the general environment upon the beliefs and practices of medieval Ashkenazi Jewry. What I had not realized was just how massive that influence actually was, and who, of all people, was most receptive to it. I discovered that the significant developments in attitudes to death and the hereafter that took place in western Europe at this time had an enormous impact upon Jewish attitudes. After my research was completed, I began to see that my findings of cultural influence were shared by other scholars in the field. Since my intent was to reveal information regarding Jewish customs and beliefs about the dead that were uniquely medieval, I compared the beliefs found in Stier hasidim with those prevalent in talmudic and midrashic literature. What I uncovered was a major transformation in

Jewish attitudes towards and practices regarding the dead and the afterlife that had occurred from the rabbinic period to medieval times. A huge influx of Germano-Christian beliefs, customs, and fears had seeped into Ashkenazi society, which shared, even if unwittingly, the mental and cultural structures of high medieval Europe in this area of great theological import.

Even more surprising to me in the course of my research was to find a significant divide between the ideas and practices that impressed themselves upon Ashkenazi Jews and those that penetrated Pietist thinking and praxis. Stier hasidirn bears witness to the cultural infusion of GermanoChristian beliefs on two levels: first, when it reflects those of Ashkenazi society in general, and second, on a deeper level, when it communicates the doctrines specific to Pietism. Here, too, the objectives of the 'two books' within this study collide.

With my interest piqued, I sought to evaluate the particular position of R. Judah the Pious on the topic of the hereafter in light of the tradition he had received. As heir to an authoritative corpus of halakhic and aggadic texts, R. Judah encountered an entire body of rabbinic literature with its own set of teachings on the matter of the dead and the afterlife. My question was whether he perpetuated these traditional teachings or whether he advocated a new stance, one more consonant with the regnant views of his host society. If, in fact, the latter was found to be true, then the further question arose as to how he dealt with those traditional Jewish teachings and texts that were in conflict with his innovative stance. After first comparing R. Judah's views with those of his halakhic predecessors, I proceeded to examine them alongside those of his contemporaries: the great masters of talmudic dialectics, the tosafists. As heirs to the same legal and narrative corpus, I wondered, did the tosafists interpret these texts in the same way as R. Judah did.

My findings revealed that there was a profound influence of Christian attitudes upon Pietist ideology in areas I had not imagined were susceptible in this way. While traditional texts may have been the source of R. Judah views on matters pertaining to the dead and the hereafter, I argue that, though he may not have intended it, outside influence had infiltrated his thinking. This infiltration was so strong as to effect a radical departure in Pietist thinking from rabbinic thought, and to spur outright contradiction of talmudic principles. In the areas of sin and posthumous punishment in particular, the degree of penetration into the worldview of R. Judah was enormous, such that, in this realm, he had absorbed entire narratives from Christian teaching.

This unconscious absorption of fundamental Christian dogma came to isolate R. Judah from his contemporaries. His unique views on the ubiquitous nature of sin and on the harsh character and inescapability of posthumous punishment were totally at variance with those held in the tosafist academies, and ran against the elevated Ashkenazi self-image and the notion of the kebilab kedosbab (holy community) portrayed by Haym Soloveitchik, and which also animated tosafist thought in the thirteenth century. Additionally, R. Judah parted company on these matters with key members of his own movement. R. Eleazar of Worms disagreed with him in matters of sin and posthumous punishment, as did R. Eleazar's student, R. Abraham b. Azriel, author of a liturgical commentary that bears the influence of the mystical tradition of the Pietists. This difference of approach between R. Judah and R. Eleazar, first noted by Haim Hillel BenSasson in 1971 in matters of social reform, and confirmed by Ivan Marcus ten years later in that arena as well as in the cardinal hasidic doctrine of penance,°' I have now extended to the realm of the afterlife. R. Judah's radical, sectarian Pietism, with the sage-confessor at its helm, as formulated by Marcus, is consonant with R. Judah's extreme stance on matters of Divine judgement as portrayed in this book. Similarly, R. Eleazar's more moderate and mainstream views on posthumous judgement, which are reflective of medieval Ashkenaz as a whole, also match Marcus's characterization of his position regarding social melioration and private penitence—both areas where R. Eleazar expressed a more conventional type of Pietism This alignment in the patterning of the views of each of the two rabbis on social

reform, penance, and aspects of the afterlife strengthens the argument for seeing a unified approach, expressive of a single voice, that of R. Judah the Pious, in Sefer hasidin.

I find the Christian origins of R. Judah's thinking in doctrinal matters to be both shocking and ironic, considering the great antipathy and palpable revulsion he expressed towards that religion, its symbols, its institutions, and its proponents What could have compelled him, even if unconsciously, to adopt such foreign elements? In the process of seeking answers to this question, I uncovered an ideology that stretched far beyond matters of the dead and their world to include several other key aspects of Pietist thought This ideological tendency was, in fact, so fundamental to Pietism as possibly to have spurred its very creation, while, at the same time, serving as a catalyst for the movement early demise.

Although this book is primarily a study of the culture of a medieval Jewish enclave, it seeks to demonstrate how the seminal beliefs of medieval Christendom could penetrate beyond their place of origin and take root in a society of competing religious values—even in the realm of doctrinal belief. It opens a window on a parallel universe, or, more accurately, it shows how shared Germano-Christian conceptions of ghosts and the afterlife played themselves out in parallel universes. By bringing these concepts into sharp focus and examining them in the context of the beliefs of the surrounding Christian society, I hope to shed light on the importance of the dead and their world within the society of the living in the Middle Ages.

***

The book is divided into two parts. The first, entitled 'The Dead of Sefer Hasidim', comprises Chapters 1 to 4. It identifies who the 'characters' of the dead are in Sefer hasidim: the dangerous dead (Chapter 1, the sinful dead (Chapter 2), the holy dead (Chapter 3), and the neutral and Pietist dead (Chapter 4). The focus of this section is to highlight the disparity between the nature and role of these characters as they appear in rabbinic sources and as we encounter them in Sefer hasidim. Ideas that surround the dead in that work are examined in the context of notions that were current in Germany at the time. Such a correlation reveals that notions of the nature of the dead, as well as of the type of interaction that took place between the dead and the living, drew upon ancient Germanic ideas, which were first Christianized and then Judaized as they made their way onto the pages of Sefer hasidim.

Chapter 1 analyses the fear of the dead in Ashkenazi society as depicted in Sefer hasidim and other, non-Pietist, sources. Chapter 2 focuses on the way the sinful dead are punished in Pietist sources as opposed to talmudic ones. Chapter 3 identifies the heightened value assigned to martyrdom in the medieval period as an example of appropriation of Christian concepts involving the holy dead. Chapter 4 examines the role of the neutral dead in Sefer hasidim and shows how the concern for clothing the dead, in its various stages of existence, assumed specifically medieval forms. It concludes with an examination of the Pietist practice of burial in a tact with tsitsit, which highlights the singularity of the Pietists' unusually strong attachment to burial in such a garment and reveals an affinity with an ancient Germanic belief and custom regarding the afterlife.

Pan II, entitled 'The Afterlife in Sefer Hasidim', comprises Chapters 5 to 8. It deals with matters pertaining to the world of the dead, both in Paradise and in Gehenna, as well as with the relationship between the worlds of the dead and the living. It speaks of the way the afterlife is envisioned and presented in medieval sources—both Jewish and non-Jewish—in contrast to rabbinic ones, and highlights the uniqueness of R. Judah's position in relation to his peers—both Jewish and non-Jewish—and his predecessors. Finally, it seeks to locate the origin of the unique doctrines and practices documented in Sefer hasidim within the environment of medieval Germany, in which the work was produced.

Chapter 5, entitled 'Status in the Hereafter', analyses R. Judah's selection of ghost tales that pertain to the individual's status in the afterlife. I contrast elements of his tales with rabbinic notions of the afterlife and compare them with those found in tales that circulated in the Germano-Christian environment. In Chapter 6, 'On Sin, Penance, and Purgation', I examine R. Judah's position on posthumous punishment as compared with rabbinic tradition and tosafist commentary. I assess his views on the matter in light of the changes that occurred within the Christian doctrine of penance and the rise of Purgatory in the high medieval period. Chapters 7 and 8, 'Bonds Between the Living and the Dead', look at two aspects of a single subject and discuss the different ways in which the dead and the living aided each other in rabbinic times in contrast to medieval times. These chapters focus on R. Judah's position regarding prayer and alms for the dead and evaluate it against the geonic stance he inherited, contemporary Jewish sentiment and practice, and various streams of Christian positions. The chapters conclude with a study of R. Judah's theories of sin and accountability in Divine judgement relative to contemporary Jewish views, and with an exploration of his conception of God as depicted in Sefer hasidim

Chapter 9 concludes this 'double' book I summarize my findings and main points while attempting to deepen and sharpen them, and draw a sketch of the Pietist aspirations that emerge when one ties together the various strands of Pietist teaching on many of the subjects touched upon in earlier chapters. These aspirations lay at the very heart of the Pietist movement. <>

Yetzer Anthropologies in the Apocalypse of Abraham by Andrei A. Orlov [Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament, Mohr Siebrek, ISBN 9783161593277]

In this book, Andrei A. Orlov examines the imagery of "inclination" or yetzer found in the Apocalypse of Abraham . He argues that the text operates with several yetzer anthropologies, some of which are reminiscent of early biblical models, while others are similar to later rabbinic notions. Although the author focuses on the traditions found in the Apocalypse of Abraham , he also treats the evolution of the yetzer symbolism in its full historical and interpretive complexity through a broad variety of Jewish and Christian sources, from the creational narratives of the Hebrew Bible to later rabbinic testimonies. He further argues that a close analysis of the yetzer anthropologies found in the Apocalypse of Abraham challenges previous scholarly hypotheses that yetzer was only sexualized and gendered for the first time in post-Amoraic sources.

CONTENTS

Excerpt: The notion of "inclination" or "yetzer" has often been regarded by experts as one of the most complex and misunderstood concepts of the Jewish religious tradition., Yetzer plays an important role In the rabbinic corpus where It became "a fundamental category through which rabbis expressed their conceptions of desire, emotions, and particularly impulses to transgress their own norms." In some rabbinic texts, speculations about yetzer are closely tied to the story of the patriarch Abraham, who, according to such rabbinic traditions, was able to overcome his evil yetzer. Thus, y. Ber. 9:5 states that "our forefather Abraham turned the evil instincts into good ones." In a similar vein, Gen. Rab. 59:7, while interpreting the biblical phrase "the Lord had blessed Abraham in all things; conveys in the name of R. Levi that God had made Abraham master of his evil inclination. Sif. Deut. 33 further elaborates the patriarch's struggle with his yetzer by offering the following statement:

> "Upon thy heart" (Deut 11:18) - This was the source of IL Josiah's saying: One must bind his inclination by an oath, for you find everywhere that the righteous used to bind their inclination by an oath. Concerning Abraham, Scripture says, I have lifted up my hand unto the Lord, God Most High, Maker of heaven and earth, that I will not take a thread nor a shoe-latchet nor aught that is thine (Gen 14:22-23).

Other rabbinic sources underline a monumental break between Abraham and previous generations, who, unlike the patriarch, were forced to succumb to their evil inclination. Gen. Rab. 22:6 proposes that the yetzer "destroyed many generations - the generation of Enosh, the generation of the Flood, and the generation of the separation [of races]. But when Abraham arose and saw how really feeble he was, he began to crush him." Abraham's struggle with his yetzer is also sometimes tied to a pivotal event of his spiritual career, when he was ordered by God to sacrifice his son Isaac. Thus, Y. Than. 2:4 depicts Abraham overcoming his evil yetzer in the midst of the Akedah:

> Rebbi Bevai Abba [said] in the name of Rebbi Johanan: Abraham said before the Holy One, praise to Him: Master of the worlds, it is open and known before You that when You said to me to sacrifice my son Isaac I could have answered and said before You, yesterday You said to me, for in Isaac will your descendants be named, and now You are saying, sacrifice him as elevation offering. Heaven forbid that I should have done this, to the contrary I suppressed my inclination and did Your will.

Ishay Rosen-Zvi argues that, in this passage, "the inclination to question God is marked as the advice of the yetzer, which Abraham successfully overcame." He further notes that "the term 'to overcome the yetzer' marks, from the Mishnah on, one's struggle with oneself."

Since in later rabbinic lore a person's possession of yetzer is closely connected to sexual behavior and the ability of procreation, the process of "overcoming one's yetzer" can be complicated. In this respect, Gem Rab. 46:2 paradoxically elaborates, in the name of R. Simeon b. Lakish, that Abraham's circumcision was in fact an attempt to invigorate his subdued yetzer•. "Then let him be circumcised at the age of eighty-six, when Ishmael was born? Said R. Simeon b. Lakish: [God said]: 'I will set up a cinnamon tree in the world: just as the cinnamon tree yields fruit as long as you manure and hoe around it, so [shall Abraham be] even when his blood runs sluggishly and his passions and desires have ceased:"

The aforementioned rabbinic passages, which develop the theme that Abraham exerted control over his yetzer, may represent not merely later rabbinic inventions but possibly have their early roots in Second Temple Jewish sources. For example, already in a Qumran text, known to us as the Damascus Document, Abraham's role as the friend of God is connected with his ability to overcome the "thoughts of a guilty inclination." About the patriarch, CD II 15 - III 3 says the following: you can walk perfectly on all his paths and not allow yourselves to be attracted by the thoughts of a guilty inclination (is') and lascivious eyes. For many have gone astray due to these ... Abraham did not walk in it, and was counted as a friend for keeping God's precepts and not following the desire of his spirit."

This Jewish witness points to the importance of the figure of Abraham in the development of the yetzer speculations in early Jewish lore. The early origins of such a conceptual trend is also supported by an early apocalyptic Jewish account, which offers extensive speculations about the patriarch's struggle with his inclination in the midst of his fight with idolatry. This early witness, the Apocalypse of Abraham, is traditionally dated by experts to the second century C.E. Several scholars have drawn attention to the yetzer traditions found in this Jewish pseudepigraphon. In the beginning of the 20th century, Louis Ginzberg argued for the presence of the yetzer hara imagery in the Apocalypse of Abraham. Ginzberg suggested that In this Jewish text "God informs Abraham that notwithstanding yetzer hara ... with which man from the time has been possessed, he has a free will of his own and may choose to abstain from sin." Ginzberg also drew attention to Apoc. Ab. 13-14, where Yahoel ordered the antagonist of the story, the fallen angel Azazel, to leave the patriarch. He suggested that this tradition can be linked to the one found in b. Baba Batra 17a where Abraham is listed among three righteous persons over whom yetzer hara had no power.

Ginzberg's comments about yetzer speculations in the Apocalypse of Abraham were not unique. Henry Wicks also argued that "the idea of an evil Impulse in man appears in the Apocalypse of Abraham," at the same time suggesting that in that work the yetzer hara is not a part of man's congenital endowment.

In his discussion of the evil heart in 4 Ezra 3:21, which scholars usually consider an example of yetzer hara symbolism, Michael Stone reflects on the similarity of this motif with the imagery found In Apoc. Ab. 23:14 where Abraham questions God about "that evil which is desired in the heart of man." Stone notes that the conceptual developments found in the Apocalypse of Abraham "In one respect corresponds to the narrative part of 4 Ezra 3. It is the story of the working out of evil in the world." Yet, Stone points out that in comparison with the Apocalypse of Abraham, "the author of 4 Ezra seems deliberately to avoid the bald statement that it was God who created the evil inclination in mankind. Perhaps this is because of the large role that free will plays in his thought."

The possibility of the presence of the yetzer ha ra tradition in the Apocalypse of Abraham has been also acknowledged by the experts who worked closely on critical editions and translations of the Slavonic manuscripts of the text. Ryszard Rubinkiewicz, in his critical edition of the Slavonic text, suggests a presence of such a motif in the phrase found In Apoc. Ab. 23:13 which tells about "those who desire evil." Commenting on this obscure passage, Rubinkiewicz points out that "dearer le mal - c'est une Inclination mauvalse. Selon la théologie julve l'homme nail avec deux inclinations: bonne et mauvaise." Another expert of the pseudepigraphical writings preserved In Slavonic, Marc Philonenko, has also discerned the possibility of yetzer symbolism behind several Slavonic terms.

Finally, Alexander Kalik: put forward a hypothesis about yetzer Imagery In the scene of the protoplast's corruption by Azazel in chapter twenty-three. In this part of the text, the concept of yetzer was conveyed through the Slavonic term. Deliberating on the phrase "this Is the reason of men, this is Adam, and this is their desire on earth, this is Eve" found in Apoc. Ab. 23:10, Kullk suggests a possible presence of the evil inclination imagery.

The insights about the yetzer symbolism have been propagated by an international cohort of experts in the mainstream publications over the course of a century. Despite these efforts, the conceptual developments found in the Apocalypse of Abraham remain completely neglected by scholars focused on tracing the history of the yetzer traditions. This important textual witness is not even mentioned once in the major studies of the yetzer concept undertaken by Frank Chamberlin Porter?. Geert Cohen Stuart, and Ishay Rosen-Zvi. One will search In vain for any reference to the Apocalypse of Abraham In the most recent focused studies of the various aspects of the yetzer symbollsm.

Despite this evident lack of attention, I will argue that the Apocalypse of Abraham ought to be seen not simply as a marginal witness. Rather, It Is an important conceptual landmark in the long-lasting development of various yetzer anthropologies which anticipated later rabbinic developments. The text operates not with one but with several notions of yetzer, expressed at least by four different Slavonic terms. These terms are related to several anthropologies of yetzer, some of which are reminiscent of early biblical concepts, while others are strikingly similar to the late rabbinic notions. Considering these scholarly gaps, this study provides an in-depth exploration of the multifaceted nature of the yetzer traditions in the Apocalypse of Abraham and their connection with the demonological and eschatological developments in this early Jewish pseudepigraphon.

***

To conclude our study, let us return again to the rabbinic accounts that speak about Abraham's role In relation to the evil yetzer. These traditions about the patriarch's unique stand against the evil inclination might Indicate that the Rabbis were cognizant of a broader story of such a battle,

remnants of which survived in the Apocalypse of Abraham. Indeed, In the Apocalypse one can witness a complex interaction between various early Jewish yetzer anthropologies that are further developed In the rabbinic corpora. In this respect, our text's anthropological developments represent an important bridge between the early biblical and extra-biblical testimonies and later rabbinic speculations.

Although some of the text's yetzer speculations are reminiscent of the developments found in the biblical materials and in the Book of Jubilees, the Apocalypse of Abraham seems to advance these earlier Jewish traditions to the concepts which are similar to later rabbinic molds. These advancements are important pre-rabbinic witnesses to the development of the yetzer Imagery, and It appears not to be coincidental that such speculations became attached to the biblical figure whose story served as a prominent vehicle for advancing such traditions in later rabbinic environment. The Apocalypse of Abraham can thus help to contextualize later rabbinic testimonies about the patriarch's special role in conquering the evil yetzer.

Our study outlined several molds of the yetzer imagery found in the Apocalypse of Abraham. This cluster can be seen as a portentous conceptual transition in a complex and lengthy evolution of yetzer symbolism from early biblical and pseudepigraphical traditions to developments found in later rabbinic milieu. It demonstrates traces of several paradigms of yetzer symbolism that will become influential in later rabbinic corpora in the various stages of their evolution. The Apocalypse of Abraham strives to portray this human inclination both as an internal faculty of the human heart and as an external manifestation embodied in several antagonistic figures of the story, Including Azazel, the Gentiles, and the fallen Eve. Although the first part of the Slavonic pseudepigraphon does not speak about the evil yetzer, envisioning the inclination of the human heart as the monistic anthropological construct, the second part of the text uses such a designation, openly speaking about "evil desire." Along with the notion of the evil yetzer, the Apocalypse of Abraham is also cognizant of the concept of good yetzer.

This close analysis of yetzer molds found In the Apocalypse of Abraham challenges previous scholarly hypotheses about sexualizing and gendering yetzer only in the post- Amoraic sources by tracing such conceptual moves to an early Jewish apocalyptic source. In this respect, sexualizing yetzer In the Apocalypse of Abraham itself becomes an important conceptual nexus which again provides additional support for the presence of the yetzer tradition in this text. Here, as in rabbinic debates about yew-, the sexual behavior of the characters reveals something about their inner inclinations. If we take the developments found in the Apocalypse of Abraham seriously, It would lead to rethinking the current models concerning the evolution of the yetzer symbolism and to redrawing the previously established chronological lines of these conceptual developments. <>

Seekers of the Face: Secrets of the Idra Rabba (The Great Assembly) of the Zohar [Stanford Studies in Jewish Mysticism, Stanford University Press, 9781503628427]

A magisterial, modern reading of the deepest mysteries in the Kabbalistic tradition.

Seekers of the Face opens the profound treasure house at the heart of Judaism's most important mystical work: the Idra Rabba (Great Gathering) of the Zohar. This is the story of the Great Assembly of mystics called to order by the master teacher and hero of the Zohar, Rabbi Shim'on bar Yochai, to align the divine faces and to heal Jewish religion. The Idra Rabba demands a

radical expansion of the religious worldview, as it reveals God's faces and bodies in daring, anthropomorphic language.

For the first time, Melila Hellner-Eshed makes this challenging, esoteric masterpiece meaningful for everyday readers. Hellner-Eshed expertly unpacks the Idra Rabba's rich grounding in tradition, its probing of hidden layers of consciousness and the psyche, and its striking, sacred images of the divine face. Leading readers of the Zohar on a transformative adventure in mystical experience, *Seekers of the Face* allows us to hear anew the Idra Rabba's bold call to heal and align the living faces of God.

Review

"Melila Hellner-Eshed's deep grasp of some of the most complicated and elusive parts of the zoharic literature is palpable and highly impressive, matched by her ability to convey the striking wisdom of the *Idra Rabba* in a wonderfully lucid, engaging, and evocative manner. Her love for the Zohar is contagious." -- Eitan P. Fishbane — *The Jewish Theological Seminary, author ofThe Art of Mystical Narrative: A Poetics of the Zohar*

"Having read this book, I know that I will never read the *Zohar* in the same way again. All students of Kabbalah will come to view *Seekers of the Face* as a prerequisite, with its unique and innovative synthesis of the Jewish tradition, Jungian theory, mysticism, and feminist thought." -- Pinchas Giller — *American Jewish University, author of Kabbalah: A Guide for the Perplexed*

"The Zohar is the masterpiece of Jewish mysticism, and one of its greatest narratives is the *Idra Rabba*. For seven centuries, this intricate tale has perplexed readers—but now Melila Hellner-Eshed, a brilliant Israeli scholar of Kabbalah, has decoded the *Idra Rabba*, revealing its deepest secret: how God needs us." -- Daniel Matt — *translator of The Zohar: Pritzker Edition*

CONTENTS

Excerpt: The work known as the Idra Rabba—the Great Assembly—is a grand story, perhaps the greatest story in the Zohar. The Idra Rabba tells of an emergency assembly convened by Rabbi Shim'on bar Yohai, the Zohar's hero, to which he summons his disciples, the havrayya (Companions). The gathering takes place in a field, among the trees, at a time beyond time and in a place beyond place. The assembly's mission is an audacious one: to heal the face of God, and thereby transform and heal the face of the Jewish religion. This is to be done by invoking and manifesting three distinct faces of the Divine, reconfiguring them and realigning them in order to ensure the flow of abundant blessing into the world.

The story of the Idra Rabba—which begins with the dramatic call Time to act for YHVH! (Psalms 119:126)—is inlaid throughout with revelations of profound secrets concerning the Divine, spoken by the teacher and his disciples. The Idra Rabba portrays the Divine with daring anthropomorphic images and descriptions. The various dimensions of the Divine are conceived and interpreted in the language of "faces" (partsufim), as well as boldly embodied and detailed descriptions of the male and female bodies within the Divine, bodies that manifest an erotic and sexual relationship.

A daring myth emerges from the work as a whole, setting forth the development of the various faces of the Divine, which human beings encounter in a revealed or concealed manner, in thought, imagination, and experience. Simultaneously, the gathering is an initiation ceremony for the disciples of Rabbi Shim'on bar Yohai, who are summoned to join their teacher and become "pillars," mystically upholding and sustaining all existence.

Alongside the Idra Rabba in zoharic literature is the Idra Zuta—the Small Gathering—which relates the events of the day of Rabbi Shim'on bar Yohai's death, and records the secrets that he reveals to his disciples before departing this world. These two works, along with some other fragments scattered throughout the Zohar, are unique in their conceptual, religious, linguistic, and literary characteristics, setting them apart as a distinct stratum within the zoharic corpus: the stratum of the Idras. Among the many religious-mystical-revelatory languages we find in zoharic literature, the language of the Idras probes particularly deep layers of the psyche.

These two assembly narratives occupy a unique and sacred position within the Zohar—a status that has become only more exalted as the Zohar's reception and canonization has progressed. Through the generations, the Idras attracted commentaries and interpretations from some of the greatest and most creative kabbalists. These two magnificent compositions broadened the horizons of Jewish mystical and esoteric thought, enriching it and adding new layers of complexity.

The Idra Rabba sits at the heart of my book. Despite its formidable density, the Idra Rabba is coherent in its concepts, language, and style, and possesses narrative continuity and a complex and sophisticated literary structure. In this book, I seek to mediate between the text and the reader:

describing and illuminating this classical work, whose daring theology and dense literary style render it inaccessible to most readers today, even those well versed in Jewish literature.

This book aims to clarify and shed light on numerous dimensions of the Idra Rabba: the narrative of the assembly with its various characters; the theology and mystical language that distinguish the work; possible motivations for its authorship; the religious-spiritual principles that emerge from it; and the components that make it transformative, intoxicating, and both attractive and threatening. Throughout, these investigations are accompanied by my attention to the Idra's great call for the transformation and healing of religion. This call captivated me from my very first reading of the work, awakening me to the inspiration that it may hold for contemporary spiritual seekers.

My Path to the Idra and to Writing This Book

Once I began to read the Zohar and to immerse myself in it, I found that its diverse ideas, figures, forms, and textures captured me—echoing central aspects of my own life at different periods. It was as if I were constantly wandering in the same field, yet with each season certain flowers would stand out in their beauty, often very different from previous ones. Perhaps this is the experience of studying any great classic work that we encounter time and again throughout our lives, or at least any work in which we have immersed ourselves for an extended period. Such is the way of Torah (teaching).

For many years, the world of the zoharic Companions and their great teacher Rabbi Shim'on bar Yohai was the central focus of my study, teaching, and writing. The mystical and experiential world—both divine and human—that unfolds in the stories of their escapades and scriptural interpretations, with the profound mysticism and eroticism that they generate, filled my heart, mind, and imagination. These stories are the distillery for the unique zoharic spirit, sweet and spicy and flowing like honey, that illuminates the eyes of those who taste it. This unique spiritual flavor of the zoharic stories changed my life.

In the first year of my studies at the Hebrew University, I read my beloved teacher Yehuda Liebes' article "The Messiah of the Zohar," which is dedicated entirely to an exploration of the Idras, and in particular to the Idra Rabba. The article astounded and moved me. Never before had I encountered an academic article of this kind: dense with ideas, associative, full of inspiration and creativity. I wanted more, and of course I immediately wanted to read the Idra literature that was the focus of his study.

I remember my initial readings of the Idra Rabba as an experience shrouded in wonder and mystery, and almost entirely inscrutable. In recent years, the Idra literature has once again captivated me. This time, I returned to it after decades of immersion in the Zohar, its language, and world. Now I felt ready to enter the inner sanctum of this magnificent composition.

There is something scandalous, astonishing, fascinating, and terrifying in the encounter with a sacred Jewish text that is primarily concerned with the various faces of the Divine, and with the hyperrealistic fine details of those faces, from the eyes to the curls of the beard. One's bewilderment at being exposed to the Idra's face terminology only grows as one encounters descriptions of the emanation of the divine body, and its distinctly sexual development into masculine and feminine bodies.

How can we understand the language of God having a face in the context of Judaism—a religious civilization that has often tended toward avoiding, if not outright rejecting, anthropomorphizing of the Divine? How might one grasp a deity portrayed as multifaceted—with a face, body, and sexuality? How might one read this great call to transform the face of the Jewish religion? How might

one decipher the theology that emerges from a discourse that is so richly imaginative and mythological?

My encounter with the Idra Rabba—with the divine faces as they are gradually woven with words into living sacred images, with the courage to get up and demand a change in religious worldview, with the expanding states of consciousness of the participants in the gathering, and with the multiple dimensions of reality that are present and occurring simultaneously—has influenced my consciousness, its borders growing flexible and its horizons ever-widening.

As my reading progressed, the inscrutable density of the language came alive and started speaking to me in ways that I could comprehend with growing excitement and delight. The divine images, at first schematic and rigid, became fluid, taking on various guises. Very slowly, I found my way through the pathways of the Idra's world. I have no doubt that part of my attraction to the Idra stems from the very effort it demands of us to open the eye of the spirit, so as to perceive its images and become acquainted with its religious and mystical language.

In addition, I was attracted by the remarkable shift from the discourse of levels, lights, and sefirot prevalent throughout the Zohar to the discourse of faces and bodies in the Idras. There was something at once thrilling and frightening in the experience of relinquishing a safe foothold in order to encounter the surreal—even psychedelic—imagery of the Idras, without knowing where or how exactly I might return to ordinary reality. For me, engaging with the Idra Rabba was akin to diving into the depths of a vast ocean, gradually and excitedly discovering its treasures.

To write this book, I needed to grasp the conceptual depth and exegetical imagination that lie at the foundations of the Idra's project of transforming and healing religion, Divinity, and all realms of reality. To this end, I had to become intimately acquainted with the Idra's terminology of faces, and to sit with its opaque and paradoxical modes of expression. In addition, the Idra Rabba required me to experience different states of consciousness, and to internalize a mythical language with a unique syntax, grammar, and inner landscapes. All of this was necessary in order to make sense of a religious language that speaks of Divinity in terms of "expansion of the face," "relaxation of the face," "healing" or "sweetening the face," "filling the face with fragrance," and "illuminating one face with another."

In the course of researching this book and writing it, I had to seek out the tools best suited to convey something of the Idra's world—in terms of language, imagination, thought, and consciousness. I discovered that I had to let go of my need to answer and explain. Rather, I needed to identify the right questions to ask—questions that would enable me to understand better the nature of this classic work.

Further, I confess that the desire to write has led me to confront my great fear of entering the Holy of Holies of the Zohar, lest I err or cause harm by trespassing on sacred ground. In order to enter, I felt that I had to gain Rabbi Shim'on bar Yobai's approval. When faced with the choice between fear or love, I followed the example of the Idra Rabba: I chose to write out of love. My intention is to delicately unveil the essence of this work that I so admire, while taking great care to reveal its secrets in an appropriate manner, avoiding crude exposure, and doing my best not to diminish this unique cultural treasure. I hope that I have succeeded in this task.

On the Idra in Our Contemporary World

For contemporary readers, studying the Idra Rabba provides an encounter with one of the classics of Jewish esoteric literature and Jewish literature in general, and a work of great importance within the mystical literature of the world. Studying it enables us to enter into an intellectual-mythical-mystical

composition that intensively investigates questions concerning the origins of being beyond space and time, and illuminates the processes of human consciousness and development.

This is an encounter with one of the most marvelous human attempts to imagine, perceive, and express the Divine in order to establish a living connection with it. Far from being a philosophical treatise, the Idra Rabba is a work of religious art. It is a testament to the creative power of a protest against the increasing rigidity of religion—one that produced an exceptionally daring and creative religious alternative, born from the recesses of the soul.

Studying the Idra reveals the unique charm of a text that in its very fabric embraces both the abstract and the concrete, the unconscious and the conscious, the transcendent and the personal, the ideational and the sexual, all somehow infused into one another. These qualities demand that the reader's consciousness becomes flexible in order to contain modes of apprehension that are not dualistic, binary, schematic, or modular. To one who makes the effort to become familiar with its world, the Idra Rabba offers a wealth of myth, mysticism, and theology, in a uniquely Jewish language. Reading it is an adventure, a journey through multidimensional expanses to the face of God.

We live in a period in which many voices are calling for a renewal of religion, in an effort to maintain its vitality and relevance. There is no doubt that my wish to write this book was strengthened by my sense that in the Idra Rabba there flow rare wellsprings of inspiration for this quest. I perceive cultural attitudes that enable a growing openness to and appreciation of different aspects of the language of the Idras emerging in these first decades of the 21st century. This openness is connected to a deep thirst for an amplified religious language that can contemplate a God more expansive than the traditional metaphors of king, father, and master allow.

Alongside the traditional imagery of God as a masculine creator and king, the Idra Rabba introduces two additional divine figures of central importance: the non-dual Divinity in its ultimate oneness, and the feminine Divine in her various guises.

Some elements of the Idras' archaic imagery may remain foreign, incomprehensible, even off-putting to many contemporary readers. Nevertheless, in certain circles today, there are aspects of religious-spiritual consciousness that are more open to many of the concepts expressed in the Idras. The following two sections briefly describe some of the reasons for this.

On Oneness

Intellectual, theological, and spiritual trends of the 21st century offer a variety of conceptions of God's unity. Contemporary conceptions of divine oneness are primarily a product of a confluence of distinct cultural, intellectual, and spiritual traditions: the spiritual traditions of the East, neo-Hasidic discourse (which is kabbalistic in origin), the syncretism of New Age thought, as well as various psychological theories, Jungian among others. The dissemination of these concepts has also been accelerated due to the growing popularity of various meditative practices (especially from the Hindu and Buddhist traditions) that explicitly aim to cultivate a quieting of the dualistic and active mind, in order to connect to a still consciousness and a sense of oneness that lies at the source of all manifestations.

I can personally attest to the sheer surprise and joy at encountering the Idra's language of oneness within my own religious tradition. So there is indeed a concept of a dimension of divine oneness in Judaism, coexisting with the particularistic language of the God of Israel! However, in the Idra, this dimension of being is not described in static terms of abstract perfection (as in the philosophical tradition), but rather with lively dynamism.'

Reclaiming the Feminine Divine

Concepts of the Divine as a feminine being are also resurfacing in contemporary Jewish cultural consciousness, which is gradually rediscovering the figure of the Shekhinah. The Shekhinah—the divine presence that dwells in our world, understood as a feminine aspect of God—had been a living force in the religious language of Kabbalah and Hasidism. This figure received a near-mortal blow in the wake of the widespread popularity and influence of the Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment) movement. In the loth century, poets such as Hayyim Nahman Bialik, mystics such as Hillel Zeitlin, and writers such as Shai Agnon were among the few who lamented that the Shekhinah "has been exiled from every corner," as Bialik put it in his poem "Alone" ("Levaddi").

In recent decades in Jewish culture, especially in North America, the feminist struggle on the part of Jewish women and men has sought to express and acknowledge the feminine and motherly aspects of the Divine in the language of prayer and in the texts of ritual blessings (berakhot). In addition to the spiritual-religious aspiration to raise the Shekhinah from the dust and allow her to attain her former stature in Jewish religious culture, one can detect the influence of the goddess culture that has emerged from the study of myth, New Age feminism, and neo-paganism.

These distinct intellectual currents have a common aspiration, namely, to make religious language more flexible and inclusive, so that it may accommodate new-ancient feminine formulations, for those seeking a connection with these aspects of the Divine. Within Judaism, these approaches—holistic, feminist-theological, Jungian, New Age, and so forth—have brought into stark relief the heavy toll of the loss and neglect of the feminine in Jewish theological language.

The foundational quality of the call to the Idra Rabba's gathering is one of emergency. To write about this work, I needed to recognize that I too feel a sense of urgency in the impulse to write about the world that opened before me when I read the Idra. I had to impart the call to transform and heal religion to those around me, and to share the startling experience of encountering the faces of the Divine as they move from abstraction to living presence.

In the Jewish world in which I live—just as in Muslim, Christian, and Hindu societies—ideologically narrow agendas and fundamentalist tendencies are now growing stronger. In response to these agendas, I felt a need to incline my ear in a more attentive way to the manifesto offered by the Idra Rabba for the religious world, calling for reform, and offering healing and expansion. In the Idra, I have searched for inspiration for those confronting the religious confusion that has come to characterize our world. I have tried to put my heart and mind to depicting accurately the radical broadening of legitimate religious language that one finds in zoharic literature in general, and in the Idras in particular. This expansion of religious language comes to refresh the religious world and enliven it.

Tools and Supplies for the Journey

Thinking about the appropriate tools for deciphering the Idra Rabba's dense and multilayered text is bound up with the question of what the work is and how to read it: Should it be read as the most highly developed and complex story in the zoharic collection? As a theological-political manifesto in the guise of a story? As a myth? As a mystical revelation—the climactic event in the human encounter with the various faces of the Divine? As a polemic against the conception of God that Maimonides presented in The Guide for the Perplexed? In my reading, I have found the Idra Rabba to be all of these things, and more. Out of the many tools that might shed light on such a complex work, I chose those that were at my disposal, and those in which I have a personal interest.

My teachers have taught me to read each and every sentence very slowly, to try first to understand what I was reading within the conceptual and linguistic context of the work itself and then within the

wider context of the Idras and zoharic literature in general. And finally, to explore the text against the background of associations from Jewish sources that predate the Zohar: Jewish philosophy, ancient Hekhalot literature, classical rabbinic literature, and of course the Hebrew Bible, whose language rests at the very foundation of the Idra's creative midrash.

This exploration has taught me that, in order to understand the language and imagery of the Idra, one must be wary of the temptation to think systematically according to the familiar map of the ten sefirot as we know it from kabbalistic literature and its appearances throughout the Zohar. I also learned that I had to refrain from a technical or allegorical reading, and from overreliance on later commentators.

Additionally, I found that the intensity of contemporary notions and ideologies regarding gender and sexuality had the potential to create a barrier between the reader and the text itself. In order to have an appreciation of the idraic world and encounter it in its fullness, I needed to be mindful in deciding when to use this contemporary lens and when to try to temporarily set it aside.

Another lens through which I considered the Idra Rabba, and which provided central inspiration to me, was the assumption that its authorship emerged from personal and experiential contemplation of human consciousness in its various states. The Idra is a daring attempt to describe consciousness in its encounter with the divine realm, and it is a testament to the richness of human consciousness in depicting various dimensions of Divinity. The tools that served me for this purpose are various conceptions concerning human consciousness borrowed from depth psychology, and from the language of archetypes from the school of Carl Gustav Jung and his student Erich Neumann, whose highly original and creative research explored the emergence and stages of development of human consciousness. In addition, new insights into human consciousness have been furnished by the mystical psychologies of Sufism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Finally, openness is perhaps not something that we are accustomed to viewing as a tool, but I would suggest that openness of mind, imagination, and heart to the Idra Rabba's multidimensionality and simultaneity is a necessary condition for a grounded and insightful reading of this work.

The Structure of This Book

Part 1 of this book may be viewed as a broad introduction to the Idra Rabba. It deals with the terminology of faces that makes the Idra unique and with the fundamental subjects at the Idra's core. The first four chapters in this part introduce the various divine faces that feature in the Idra's lexicon, constituting a gateway for those who wish to enter into its unique and otherwise inaccessible world.

The last three chapters (Chapters 5, 6, and 7) in this part are concerned with fundamental issues that emerge from studying the Idra, such as the relationship between various divine entities and the work's stylistic and literary distinctiveness, its mystical character, and its overarching themes. Part concludes with these central questions: What is the Idra trying to say? What meaning might lie concealed within it for us, its readers?

Part 2 of this book follows the textual order of the Idra Rabba as it presents a study and analysis of the work. Thus, this part matches the structure of the Idra: moving from the highly impressive opening scene (Chapter 8) through the processes of configuring the divine partsufim, Arikh Anpin and Ze`eir Anpin (Chapters 9 through 17), and the description of the sexual union of the male and female bodies of the Divine (Chapters 18 through 21) to the dramatic closing scene (Chapter 22). This part is characterized by analyses of extensive selections from the text of the Idra, and discussions of the themes arising from those selections. From time to time, I elaborate on a specific theme or provide the necessary background for the interpretive discussion.

This book's two parts thus present various levels of treatment of the work, with different resolutions: in the first part, I consider the Idra from a bird's-eye view and examine its general themes; in the second part, I attempt to mediate between the text and the reader, presenting a close analysis of selections from the work—indeed, this section is something of a personal conversation with the Idra Rabba. <>

PORTRAITS; THE HASIDIC LEGACY OF ELIE WIESEL by David Patterson [Contemporary Jewish Thought SUNY Press, 9781438483979]

Explores Elie Wiesel's portraits of the sages of Judaism and elaborates on the Hasidic legacy from his life and his teaching.

Elie Wiesel identified himself as a Vizhnitzer Hasid, who was above all things a witness to the testimony and teaching of the Jewish tradition at the core of the Hasidic tradition. While he is well known for his testimony on the Holocaust and as a messenger to humanity, he is less well known for his engagement with the teachings of Jewish tradition and the Hasidic heritage that informs that engagement. Portraits illuminates Wiesel's Jewish teachings and the Hasidic legacy that he embraced by examining how he brought to life the sages of the Jewish tradition. David Patterson reveals that Wiesel's Hasidic engagement with the holy texts of the Jewish tradition does not fall into the usual categories of exegesis or hermeneutics and of commentary or textual analysis. Rather, he engages not the text but the person, the teacher, and the soul. This book is a summons to remember the testimony reduced to ashes and the voices that cry out from those ashes. Just as the teaching is embodied in the teachers, so is the tradition embodied in their portraits.

David Patterson is Hillel A. Feinberg Distinguished Chair in Holocaust Studies at the University of Texas at Dallas. His many books include THE HOLOCAUST AND THE NONREPRESENTABLE: LITERARY AND PHOTOGRAPHIC TRANSCENDENCE, also published by SUNY Press.

CONTENTS

Although I never had the honor of sitting in one of Professor Elie Wiesel's seminars at Boston University, I have counted him among my teachers ever since one of my own students placed in my hands a copy of Night in 1978. Reading his first book not only set me upon a path of reading everything he published, but it also launched me on a never-ending journey through an ocean of Jewish texts and teachings, as well as Jewish thought and testimony. I began corresponding with

Professor Wiesel in 1982, whereupon he graciously invited me to meet with him should I ever be in Boston or New York. In 1984 I had my first meeting with him in New York; as a result of that meeting I wrote a now-obscure book, In Dialogue and Dilemma with Elie Wiesel, which consists of transcripts of our conversation followed by my reflections on his words and works. With his characteristic generosity, he told me that he regarded that book as an expression of friendship; those who knew him know that friendship meant a great deal to him, and his words meant even more to me. Over the subsequent years I was blessed to sit with him and to learn from him on many other occasions.

Although I could never attain the merit of calling myself a Hasid, I count myself among the heirs to Wiesel's Hasidic legacy, and my own embrace of Jewish tradition has been shaped by that legacy. Therefore this book is, in a deep sense, the work of one of Professor Wiesel's students and not the work of one who comes to this subject matter with the cold distance of scholarly objectivity. The Baal Shem's call, Wiesel insisted, was a call to subjectivity, to passionate involvement. This study of Elie Wiesel's teachings, as they unfold through his personal engagement with the portraits of Judaism's sages and dreamers, is an attempt at just such an involvement. Years ago a critic once said that to read Wiesel is to burn with him. And so, at least for me, it is true: my attempt to convey the Hasidic legacy of this soul on fire is an attempt to transmit the fire he has transmitted to me.

I should also note that when, for example, I refer to "Jewish teaching: I am aware that my understanding of Jewish teaching is not the only legitimate one; it is my best understanding, informed by my own study of Judaism, as well as by what I have learned from the Hasid Wiesel. Indeed, Wiesel's portraits of biblical figures and Talmudic sages are rooted in his Hasidism; so all of these portraits, not just the portraits of the Hasidic masters, belong to his Hasidic legacy.

One other thing: the Holocaust. If there can be a post-Holocaust legacy, it must include a Hasidic legacy, a legacy that stems from that segment of world Jewry so profoundly and so brutally ravaged in the Shoah. And if it can be expressed as a Hasidic legacy, who better than Elie Wiesel to give voice to that expression, to that summons? A legacy is above all an inheritance, and an inheritance is a summons. It is a call, even a commandment, to zakhor v'shamor, to remember and to observe; it is a commandment that, says the Talmud, is woven into in a single utterance from Mount Sinai (Shevuot 20b). Turning to Mount Sinai—turning to those who turned to Mount Sinai—Professor Wiesel bequeaths to us an inheritance couched in the commandment to remember and observe voiced in a single utterance. His Hasidic legacy is a summons to remember what happened and why it matters. It is a summons to remember the testimony reduced to ashes and the voices that cry out from those ashes. It is a summons to remember and observe—to remember and watch over—the teaching and tradition consigned to obliteration as the Jews made their way to the gas chambers under the towers that watched over them in Auschwitz. Just as the teaching is embodied in the teachers, so too is the tradition embodied in their portraits.

***

Most of what is known about the Baal Shem Tov belongs to Hasidic lore. It is said, for example, that he received the "Hidden Wisdom" from the great mystic Rabbi Adam Baal Shem of Ropczyce, who discovered a manuscript containing the secrets of Torah hidden in a cave; it was revealed to him in a dream that he should pass the secrets on to Israel ben Eliezer. Early on the Baal Shem underscored the immanence of God's presence in the world and taught the ways of devekut. Before long he became known for his wisdom, erudition, and righteousness. Immanuel Etkes observes that "the Besht's abilities to combat supernatural entities was evident also in his efforts to heal the sick. In one story, the Besht cures a child on his deathbed by confronting the soul of the child and commanding it to return to its body." As Biale has noted," contrary to some legendary accounts, when the Baal

Shem arrived in Medzhibozh—a town destroyed in the Chmielnicki Massacres and rebuilt in 1660—in the 1740s he was already known as a great healer and mystic. Moshe Rosman reinforces this view."

The potency of the Baal Shem's presence, prior to the advent of any -ism, set into motion a transformation of everyone who encountered him. Etkes reminds us that "the Besht did not regard himself as the leader of a movement, not only because in his day the Hasidic movement did not yet exist, or because it had never even occurred to him to found such a movement, but mainly because he perceived himself as bearing responsibility for the welfare of the Jewish people as a whole." There we have one category that defines the Hasidic movement and Wiesel's Hasidic legacy: the responsibility that devolves upon each for the sake of all. The Baal Shem's popularity drew reproach from Jews known as the Mitnagdim, or the "Opponents," chief among whom was the renowned Elijah ben Solomon Zalman, the Vilna Gaon; he believed that the Hasidim were spreading too many of the esoteric teachings among too many people too quickly. Biale maintains, however, that the conflict between the Mitnagdim and the Hasidim was relatively insignificant. Still, he concedes, when the Hasidim celebrated the death of the Vilna Gaon in 1797, the spilt took on an unprecedented intensity." In 1798, for example, the Mitnagdim went to the Russians and accused Rabbi Schneur Zalman of Liadi, the founder of the Chabad Lubavitch Hasidic dynasty, of espionage.

The Baal Shem attracted numerous followers, both from the elitist segments of East European Jewry and from the not-so-elitist segments of that world. Key figures in the transmission of his legacy were Yaakov Yosef of Polnoe and Dov Ber, the Maggid of Mezeritch. Through these leaders there emerged the person of the tzaddik, a "righteous one who is able to elevate his entire following and to serve as a bridge between this realm and the upper realms. This particular understanding of the tzaddik, as it evolved over the generations immediately following the advent of the Baal Shem Tov, is another distinctive feature of Hasidism.

The tzaddik, Biale and others explain, "must bridge the chasm between himself and his followers by 'descending to the people: He must periodically interrupt his state of communion with God and go down to the level of his followers in order to raise them up by joining himself to them. . . . What, more precisely, is the relationship between tsaddik and Hasid? The tsaddik is obliged to take care of both the spiritual and material needs of his followers, while the Hasidim are obliged to believe in the powers of the tsaddik and consequently to 'adhere' to him." It is important to note, he adds, that "the tsaddik is not a passive conduit between the upper and lower worlds. Instead, he is the quintessential expression of the movement in and out of the state of devekut." Note well: the tzaddik draws his Hasidim into the upper realms not only spiritually but also physically. This view of "the whole person of the Zaddiq as a channel, and not only his soul," Moshe Idel observes, may be traced to the time of the great Lurianic mystic Moshe Cordovero (1522-1570), if not before. He goes on to note that "there can be no doubt" that the Hasidic masters were familiar with Cordovero's most famous kabbalistic text, the Pardes Rimmonim, the writings of Isaiah Horowitz (1555-1630), and other Kabbalists, which expound on this notion of the tzaddik as a channel. In the nineteenth century, Hasidic dynasties stemming from the tzaddikim would come to the fore, based on the places where their followers lived, such as Belz, Bobova, Lubavitch, Bratzlav, Ger, Satmar (Szatmárnémeti), and Vizhnitz, the Yiddish name for Vizhnytsia, a town in present-day Ukraine. It is the dynasty to which Elie Wiesel was heir: he always identified himself as a Vizhnitzer Hasid.

For Hasidic Jews and for Wiesel's Hasidic legacy, gratitude and joy resting upon relationship are paramount. That is one way in which Hasidism epitomizes Judaism: in its accent on relationship. "What is Hasidism," writes Wiesel, "if not the belief that man must have faith in God and in people? You suffer? Pray to God but speak to your friend.." Few of us can fathom how extraordinary these

words are, coming from a Hasid who emerged from the gullet of the antiworld. Faith in God? Faith in people? What can these words mean in the aftermath of Auschwitz? And yet Wiesel's Jewish teachings and testimonies are an effort to restore meaning to these words in the aftermath of a radical assault on the bond between word and meaning. Indeed, his is an effort to restore meaning to the very word after. "After?" he has written. "Did you say: after? Meaning what?" Only a legacy can restore an after.

And so we come to the after in the Hasidic legacy. Here Arthur Green, with his notion of Neo-Hasidism, is of particular help. The Shoah is such a radical, unprecedented rupture of Jewish life, teaching, tradition, testimony—including the life and teaching of the Hasidim—that we should think of Wiesel's Hasidic legacy in terms of a Neo-Hasidic legacy. What does Neo-Hasidic mean? Green explains that it is "the notion that Hasidism has a message wider than the borders of the traditional Hasidic community, that Jews and others who do not live the lives of Hasidim and who have no intention of doing so might still be spiritually nourished by the stories, teachings, music of Hasidism—indeed by the telling of the narrative of Hasidic history itself."" Here Green has captured the meaning of legacy, as well as the innovation that Wiesel brings both to Hasidism and to Judaism. Wiesel's Hasidic legacy—his Hasidic demand—is for all humanity, and not just for the Jewish people, the traditional audience of the Hasidic sages. The Nazis obliterated the Hasidic world that was confined to Eastern Europe; Wiesel is chief among those witnesses who extend that world throughout the wider world. In A Beggar in Jerusalem he gives voice to the teaching couched in this universality: "There comes a time when one cannot be a man without assuming the Jewish condition." If, as Green says, "Wiesel offers the first significant retelling of the story of Hasidism after the Holocaust," it is because Wiesel's legacy is Hasidic through and through. For Wiesel, Jewish and Hasidic (not to mention human and Hasidic) have virtually become the same thing.

I once repeated to Elie Wiesel a story about the Hasidic master Rabbi Uri of Strelisk, from his book Somewhere a Master. According to the tale, Rabbi Uri would make his final farewells to his family each morning before he set out to the synagogue for the morning prayers. Rabbi Uri was convinced that if he should attain the ascent to the upper realms that the prayers required, his soul might not return to this world.48 Realizing that Wiesel's soul would not ascend but would descend into dangerous realms when he took up the task of writing his novels, I asked him: "How do you survive writing one of your novels? Do you not approach the edge of an abyss when you sound those depths?" He answered: "Yes. I descend . . . somewhere. But I have my . . . safety measures. My lifelines. I never write a novel without also studying or writing about something else: the Bible, the Talmud, Midrash, Hasidism. Without that lifeline, I could not find my way back to life." That lifeline was fundamentally Hasidic. Many of Wiesel's first lectures at the 92nd Street Y in the 1960s were on the Hasidic masters. His first collection of portraits were portraits of Hasidic masters. And he always prayed according to the custom of the Vizhnitzer Hasidim, just as he prayed in Auschwitz.

The Talmudic sage Shimon ben Azzai maintains that the most foundational of all Jewish teachings—and therefore of all Hasidic teachings—is that all human beings have their beginning in a single human being (Talmud Yerushalmi, Nedarim 9:4; Bereshit Rabbah 24:7). This teaching contains what Wiesel refers to when he says that "at Auschwitz, not only man died, but also the idea of man." This most fundamental of Jewish teachings would become the teaching most fundamentally opposed to the Nazi view on what imparts meaning and value to the other human being. Why did God begin with just one human being and not two? The sages say it was so that no one may declare to another, "My side of the family is better than your side of the family" (Tosefta Sanhedrin 8:4). There is only one side of the family, which means that all of humanity is interrelated, physically through Adam, metaphysically through the Creator, with all the ethical demands that come with being part of a family. Indeed, the Hebrew term for "human being" is ben adam, a "child of Adam." There is no

teaching more inimical to National Socialism's pivotal claim that there is no connection between the Aryan and the non-Aryan and no ethical obligation of one human being toward another. And this ethical demand lies at the core of Wiesel's Hasidic legacy.

The Baal Shem did not call for a resurgence of the study confined to the narrow circles of scholars, nor did he turn to the asceticism that had been associated with earlier Hasidim. To be sure, the Baal Shem drew one of his closest disciples, Yaakov Yosef of Polnoe, into his circle by turning him away from asceticism. Rather, he opened up the gates to God to anyone capable of gratitude and joy, precisely in a time when all were blind to anything for which they might be grateful or that they could rejoice in. The Baal Shem Tov, says Wiesel, "taught them to fight sadness with joy. 'The man who looks only at himself cannot but sink into despair, yet as soon as he opens his eyes to the creation around him, he will know joy'. And this joy leads to the absolute, to redemption, to God; that was the new truth as defined by the Baal Shem." Given their post-Holocaust context, these words are as extraordinary as Wiesel's post-Holocaust legacy.

Equally extraordinary is the Hasidic emphasis on gratitude, which is also a key to redemption. Says Wiesel in his commentary on the Passover Haggadah, "A Jew defines himself by his capacity for gratitude. A Jewish philosopher was once asked, 'What is the opposite of nihilism?' And he said, `Dayenu', the ability to be thankful for what we have received, for what we are." Wiesel's Hasidic legacy tells us that the path to redemption, both for God and for humanity, lies in joy even in the midst of despair, in gratitude even when we are hungry, and in struggling with God.

When in Wiesel's Ani Maamin Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob confront the Holy One with the murder of the children, we read, "Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob go away, heartened by another hope: their children. They leave heaven and do not, cannot, see that they are no longer alone: God accompanies them, weeping, smiling, whispering: Nitzhuni banai, my children have defeated me, they deserve my gratitude. Thus he spoke. He is speaking still. The word of God continues to be heard. So does the silence of his dead children" So you see, just as the redemption of humanity rests upon human gratitude, so too does the redemption of the Shekhinah rest upon divine gratitude, even amidst the silence of her dead children: gratitude not for their immense suffering but for the truth that their suffering matters, despite the impossibility of deriving any meaning from it. As the character Gregor declared to the Rebbe in The Gates of the Forest, "I tell you this: if their death has no meaning, then it's an insult, and if it does have a meaning, it's even more so."" The redemption opened up by joy, gratitude, and struggling with God, even as God struggles with Himself, does not come through suffering but rather in spite of suffering.

If Auschwitz is central to Wiesel's post-Holocaust legacy, Jerusalem is central to his Hasidic legacy. The Hasidic master "Rabbi Nahman of Bratzlav," Wiesel relates, "the storyteller of Hasidism, liked to say that no matter where he walked, his steps turned toward Jerusalem.." As the site where the Temple stood, Jerusalem signifies the emanation of Torah into the world, and Torah signifies the sanctity of life in the world. The Midrash teaches that the windows of the Temple were designed not to let light in but to allow the light of Torah to radiate out from the Temple and into the world (Tanhuma Tetzaveh 6). Thus the third-century sage Rabbi Yehoshua ben Levi taught that the Temple was a greater blessing to the nations than it was to Israel (Bamidbar Rabbah 1:3). The nations, and not just the Jews, can no more live without Jerusalem than they can live without God. Like a tzaddik, Jerusalem is for everyone a bridge between this realm and the upper realms. "That's where the town of my childhood seems to be now," says Wiesel, "up there, in a Jerusalem of fire, hanging onto eternal memories of night."" That is why the young Eliezer would weep at night over the destruction of the Temple," even though he may not have known it at the time: the town of his childhood would

be the heavenly Jerusalem of fire, hanging on the eternal memories of fire, of flames such as there have never been.

"How was I to reconcile Auschwitz and Jerusalem?" asks Yedidyah, the main character in Wiesel's The Sonderberg Case. "Would the former merely be the antithesis, the anti-event of the latter? If Auschwitz is forever the question, is Jerusalem forever the answer? On the one hand the darkness of the abyss, on the other the dazzling light of daybreak? At Birkenau and Treblinka, the burning bush was consumed, but here the flame continues to warm the hearts of messianic dreamers."" Amidst the flames of the Hasidic house of prayer consumed in the Holocaust there is another flame, one that warms the hearts of the messianic dreamers. It is the flame of the Hasidic legacy that Elie Wiesel has bequeathed to us through his portraits of the patriarchs and prophets, as well as the sages and masters. It is a legacy that we receive from a Hasid who loves Jews and Judaism and celebrates both. His first two volumes of portraits, in fact, were celebrations: Celebration hassidique: portraits et legendes [Souls on fire: Portraits and legends of Hasidic masters] (1972) and Celebration biblique: portraits et legendes (Messengers of God: Biblical portraits and legends (1975).

Finally, with regard to Elie Wiesel's Hasidic legacy, we should note one more thing about his innovative approach to Judaism. Wiesel understood that after the Holocaust nothing remained the same. "In the beginning there was the Holocaust," he asserts. "We must therefore start all over again."" Wiesel's Hasidism enables him to start all over again. It opens up for him the and yet, which he describes as his "two favorite words" and are so crucial to his approach to Judaism in the aftermath of the Shoah. It is a Judaism that leads us to put God on trial but to pause for Minhah, the afternoon prayers. It is a Judaism that leads us to cry out Ayekah!?—Where are You!?—to God in the midst of the Hineni!—Here I am for You!—that we offer up to Him. It is a Judaism that makes it possible to love Jews, love God, and celebrate both in the aftermath of the unthinkable.

His Hasidism leads him to the reintroduction of another category in Jewish texts: the portrait. The Jewish tradition of portraiture is, from one perspective, ancient. Examples can be found in the writings of Flavius Josephus (CE 37-100), Tzena Ureina of the 1590s (sometimes called the Women's Bible), and the MeAm Lo'ez of Yaakov Culi (d. 1732), as well as in the hagiographic literature, such as portions of the Sefer HaKabbalah of Abraham ibn Daud (1110-1180), the martyrologies from the time of the Crusades, and portions of the Zohar. Others include the Sefer HaHezyonot, which contains portraits of Isaac Luria sketched by his student Chayyim Vital (1542-1620), as well as the Shivhei HaBesht compiled by the disciple of the Baal Shem, Dov Ber of Mezeritch. Although there are later precedents for portraiture, such as Hillel Zeitlin's (1871-1942) volume on Nahman of Bratzlav, the post-Holocaust context imparts to Wiesel's portraits an unprecedeneted dimension. And, unlike the earlier examples of portraits of the sages, Wiesel uses the word portrait in the titles of his essays on the sages.

Through his portraiture Wiesel brings out the flesh and blood, the heart and soul, and the very humanity of these men and women who otherwise get lost in the teachings and traditions they bequeath to us. For the meser or the "message" transmitted through the mesorah or the "tradition" is not merely the teachings that belong to a doctrine; if that were all Judaism amounted to, it would indeed have been lost in the Shoah. No, the message transmitted through the tradition lies in the humanity of our teachers and not just in their teachings. It lies in the very meaning of humanity that came under a radical assault in the time of the Shoah. Let us consider, then, this innovation that Wiesel brings to Judaism and that constitutes his Hasidic legacy: the portrait. <>

IMAGERY TECHNIQUES IN MODERN JEWISH MYSTICISM by Daniel Reiser [Studia Judaican De Gruyter, Magnes Press, 9783110533941] Co-publication with Magnes Press

This book analyzes and describes the development and aspects of imagery techniques, a primary mode of mystical experience, in twentieth century Jewish mysticism. These techniques, in contrast to linguistic techniques in medieval Kabbalah and in contrast to early Hasidism, have all the characteristics of a full screenplay, a long and complicated plot woven together from many scenes, a kind of a feature film. Research on this development and nature of the imagery experience is carried out through comparison to similar developments in philosophy and psychology and is fruitfully contextualized within broader trends of western and eastern mysticism.

CONTENTS

"A Voice Calls from the East:" Imagery Techniques in Light of the East

The mundus imaginalis (world of imagination) is mentioned both in kabbalistic and Sufi literature, as a mediating world between the corporeal and spiritual realm.' Moshe Idel claims that, due to this parallel, this concept was appropriated into the teachings of R. Isaac of Acre (a student of Nathan

ben Sa'adyahu Harar, from Abulafia's ecstatic kabbalah circle) from Sufism and that this circle was proximate to Sufism.

The Sufi master, Abu `Abd Allah Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn `Arabi, commonly referred to as Ibn 'Arabi (1165 —1240), developed the conception of the imagination and brought it to new heights. In his opinion, human consciousness is dependent upon the imagination. The imagination is the creator of our reality, not as a false entity, but as a reflection and mirror of true existence. True entities belong to the divine realm and the imagination is the mirror through which these entities are seen.' The Islamic scholar Henry Corbin (1903 — 1978) focused his scholarship on Ibn 'Arabi's teachings, coined the term imaginaire, and situated it within modern discourse.

Corbin was a phenomenologist of religion, specifically religious consciousness, who first and foremost opposed all static conceptions. Corbin's metaphysics renounce the false security of faith in something permanent and stable. According to him, this type of faith, whether it be in the humanities, sciences, art, politics, and even life itself—creates an idol, a false god. In contradistinction, the imagination is perpetually and constantly moving and thereby creates a symbol, an icon. The idol is impermeable and does not allow for transcendence, whereas the icon allows a vision and sight of transcendence:

The ambiguity of the Image comes from the fact that it can be either an idol (Gr. eidolon) or an icon (Gr. eikon). It is an idol when it fixes the viewer's vision on itself. Then it is opaque, without transparency, and remains at the level of that from which it was formed. But it is an icon, whether a painted image or a mental one, when its transparency permits the viewer to see through it to something beyond it, and because what is beyond can be seen only through it. ...Idolatry consists in immobilizing oneself before an idol because one sees it as opaque, because one is incapable of discerning in it the hidden invitation that it offers to go beyond it. Hence, the opposite of idolatry would not consist in brealdng idols, in practicing a fierce iconoclasm aimed against every inner or external Image; it would rather consist in rendering the idol transparent to the light invested in it. In short, it means transmuting the idol into an icon.

Corbin claims that the main characterization of Western philosophy is the chasm between "thought" and "being." In Western philosophy two types of knowledge are presented—sensory perception and logical comprehension, in which the sensory conception does not necessarily affect the logical conception, and whereas the intellect does not inevitably affect man ontologically. Corbin challenged this view and asserted that there is a third type of knowledge, an intermediate knowledge between the intellect and the sense—the "Active Imagination," which appears in Sufi literature.' According to this view, man has primary access to spiritual and religious phenomena, which is not mediated through the intellect or senses, but rather through the third source of knowledge—the Active Imagination, a source of knowledge neglected in Western philosophy which "has been left to the poets:

Between the sense perceptions and the intuitions or categories of the intellect there has remained a void. That which ought to have taken its place between the two, and which in other times and places did occupy this intermediate space, that is to say the Active Imagination, has been left to the poets.

Corbin clarifies that his utilization of the concept of imagination is not in its common use as fantasy or fiction, but as an objective and authentic source of knowledge:

Here we shall not be dealing with imagination in the usual sense of the word: neither with fantasy, profane or otherwise, nor with the organ which produces imaginings identified with the unreal; nor shall we even be dealing exactly with what we look upon as the organ of esthetic creation. We shall

be speaking of an absolutely basic function, correlated with a universe peculiar to it, a universe endowed with a perfectly 'objective' existence and perceived precisely through the Imagination.

According to Corbin, the imagination allows access to a world in which the intellect and senses are unified. Without the imagination, religious phenomena in general and religious experience in particular would be impossible! Through the imagination, man perceives "icons" and religious meanings therein, which allow him a glimpse of transcendence:

Unlike common knowledge, which is effected by a penetration of the sense impressions of the outside world into the interior of the soul, the work of prophetic inspiration is a projection of the inner soul upon the outside world. The Active Imagination guides, anticipates. molds sensory perception; that is why it transmutes sensory data into symbols. The Burning Bush is only a brushwood fire if it is merely perceived by the sensory organs. In order that Moses may perceive the Burning Bush and hear the Voice calling him 'from the right side of the valley'—in short, in order that there may be a theophany—an organ of trans-sensory perception is needed... This theophanic perception is accomplished in the "alam almithal," whose organ is the theophanic Imagination.

The Active Imagination is necessary in order to verify reality and understand numerous personal experiences, including dreams, visions, and prophetic revelation.' The imagination, as a source of knowledge, allows access to a world of true existence, an objective world which Corbin, inspired by the Islamic concept of alam al-mithal, which appears in the mystical doctrine of Ibn 'Arabi and others, calls the imaginal world or mundus imaginalis.

The Active Imagination in Corbin's thought is not only a source of knowledge and an intermediary between the logos and the senses, but is also primarily a "creative imagination."' The imagination is both the epistemological awareness of an object and is simultaneously that which creates it! Corbin demonstrates this primarily in the realm of prayer in which the imagination creates the divine revelation:

Prayer takes on a meaning which would have been profoundly repugnant not only to Ibn 'Arabi but to Sufism in general. For prayer is not a request for something: it is the expression of a mode of being, a means of existing and of causing to exist, that is, a means of causing the God who reveals Himself to appear, of 'seeing' Him, not to be sure in His essence, but in the form which precisely He reveals by revealing Himself by and to that form, This view of Prayer takes the ground from under the feet of those who, utterly ignorant of the nature of the theophanic Imagination as Creation, argue that a God who is the 'creation' of our Imagination can only be 'unreal' and that there can be no purpose in praying to such a God. For it is precisely because He is a creation of the imagination that we pray to him, and that He exists. Prayer is the highest form, the supreme act of the Creative Imagination. ...the Prayer of Man accomplishes this theophany because in it and through it the 'Form of God' (surat al-Haqq) becomes visible to the heart.

The visualization of God during prayer causes the same imaginal God to disclose himself to the imaginer. According to Corbin, prayer in its essence is not supplication, even if it is full of supplications. Prayer in its essence, "is the expression of a mode of being, a means of existing and of causing to exist." Prayer, based on man's imagination, creates divine revelation, for "through it the 'Form of God' (surat al-Haqq) becomes visible to the heart." God, "epiphanizes Himself insofar as He is the God whom and for whom we pray." Furthermore, Corbin emphasizes the fact that the imagination takes shape in works of art and science, as well as modern parapsychological performances, and thus its creative power is actualized.

Indeed, although Corbin only disseminated his scholarship on Islam and the imagination throughout Europe mainly in the second half of the twentieth century, nonetheless, there is no doubt that there

were already, non-mature, prior ideological structures in the beginning of the twentieth century which brought the Sufi conception of the imagination to Europe. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century it is possible to identify an incursion of Sufi doctrines and practices in Europe, and with them the importance of the imagination, both in the philosophical and practical (as well as mystical, psychological, and medical) realm. William James presented them in his work, which was published already in 1902. Thinkers at the periphery of hasidism, like Hillel Zeitlin, who was concomitantly in contact with hasidic leaders and public Jewish figures, quotes James in his books and writings that were published in Poland and Europe in Hebrew and Yiddish.' This is one example of the possible dissemination of Sufism among European Jewry, through James's work."

Not only did Sufism gain a foothold in Europe at the turn of the nineteenth century, but so did techniques from the Far East. Surprisingly, there was a widespread and detailed knowledge of Eastern mystical techniques from India, and even Tibet, in hasidic circles already from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Evidence for this can be found in books like, Me'ora'ot Sevi: Sipur Halomot Qes Hafla'ot (Lemberg: J. Rosanes Press, 1804), which was presumably written by R. Yisra'el Yafeh, who published Shivhei ha-Besht. This literary style also appeared in non-hasidic books (which were in any case available for all) like the book Sefer Shevilei Olam (1822) and Masa'ei Yisra'el (1859). This literature re veals extremely intimate knowledge of Eastern and African religions and makes it accessible to a wider audience.' Indeed, our attention should also be drawn to the remarkable fact that modern colonialism and imperialism (which peaked at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century), which revealed and brought the West to the East, ultimately created a cultural encounter between them. This encounter also brought the East to the West, such that Eastern conceptions, methods, and practices were spread into the heart of Western culture, which until this day is still engaged with this encounter and is in dialogue with it.

In this context it should be noted that the scholar of religion, Mircea Eliade (1907-1986), was in India for his studies between the years 1928 and 1931 at Calcutta University (now Kolkata) and half a year in an ashram in Rishikesh in the Himalayan area.' His time in the Far East engendered his doctoral thesis on In dian Yoga. This composition constituted a preliminary stage in his understanding of Indian spirituality and his philosophical focus on techniques, which was later incorporated in his book Yoga: Immortality and Freedom.' These studies and his concentration on techniques, which were published in Europe in the first half of the twentieth century, were not only used as academic resources, but also changed the modes of thinking about the East and allowed for yogic and similar techniques to enter the European consciousness.'

The terms that Eliade disclosed to the West became a fertile ground for innovative thought and the formation of new techniques. Eliade's introduction of the concept of Karma, "The law of universal causality which connects man with the cosmos,' to the West, constituted a possible setting for the development of imagery techniques of a universal and cosmological character. Additionally, Indian techniques, like Yoga, emphasized the necessity for human initiation together with its practical side.' This conception parallels that found in hasidism, also predicated upon human initiative and the necessity of developing and searching for techniques. Another spiritual resource that Eastern techniques presented was the need for a spiritual guide. Man does not learn Yoga alone, he is dependent on instruction from a guru. Similarly, the imagery techniques that I have presented in this study are characterized by guidance, where the "guru," is the hasidic saddiq. It should be noted that Yoga, unlike Samkhya, is theistic since it posits the existence of God (Isvara) and stresses meditative techniques (in contrast to Samkhya, which sees metaphysical knowledge as the sole means for salvation)." Most likely its theistic nature facilitated its permeation, to the extent that there was, into different religious circles. Furthermore, the con cepts of bittul ha-yesh (the nullification of

something) and bittul ha-ani (self-annihilation) are found in Yoga," as well as hasidism, a correlation which can allow for the proliferation of Yoga and its measured absorption in hasidic thought.

In his studies Eliade dealt with imagery techniques developed in Tibet. In Tibetan Tantra, imagination and imagery techniques play a central role as enablers of meditation.' Moreover, he highlighted the fact that "Indian psychology" was well aware of hypnosis and attributed it to a temporary state of concentration." This particular identification of Yoga techniques and modem hypnotic techniques amplified Yoga's popularity and its absorption in Europe, specifically when hypnosis reached maturity. According to Eliade:

The ideal of Yoga, the state of jivan-mukti, is to live in an 'eternal present,' outside of time. `Liberated in life', the jivan-mukta no longer possesses a personal consciousness—that is, a consciousness nourished on his own history—but a witnessing consciousness, which is pure lucidity and spontaneity... Yoga takes over and continues the immemorial symbolism of initiation; in other words, it finds its place in a universal tradition of the religious history of mankind.

The aspiration for eternal life is not in the sense of physical immortality, but rather supra-temporal life. This life is one of the annihilation of personal consciousness, comprised of its own experiences, and the acquirement of an alternative consciousness—of "pure lucidity and spontaneity." Eliade terms this consciousness a "witnessing consciousness," a conception that is similar to the philosophical underpinnings of Menabem Mendel Ekstein's autoscopic imaginal visualization techniques, in which man observes himself from an external viewpoint.

European interest in the East at the turn of the century had a weighty impact on Jewish identity. In Western Europe, assimilation, which had already taken root, brought with it a loss of identity and feelings of inferiority. The younger Jewish generation was drawn towards Orientalism and found for itself a place of self-definition within this complex process. Paul Mendes-Flohr discussed the renewed interest of Jewish youth, at the turn of the nineteenth century, in Indian, Buddhist, and Islamic mystical teachings, as well as a renewed interest in the mystical tradition of medieval Christianity.

Eastern culture, which before the turn of the century was viewed as inferior, suddenly became quite attractive. The invalidation of the moral and material promise of the Enlightenment, primarily by the philosophies of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, contributed to the veneration of the East. The Ostjuden (Oriental Jews) were now able to feel a renewed sense of self-satisfaction while the East was granted a new positive image. One may find organizations, like the Bar Kochba Association in Prague, and volumes, like Von Judentum (1913), which cultivated a transformed sense of Jewish pride and increased interest in Eastern spirituality and mysticism. Martin Buber was officially appointed in 1908 to be the spiritual guide of the Bar Kochba Association, which called for a Jewish renaissance. Buber's lectures delivered to this association elaborated on the mystical quality of hasidism and compared the hasidic spirituality with different mystical traditions, like Indian, Chinese, Finnish, Celtic, and Persian. Hasidism, according to Buber, expresses the authentic "oriental" nature of the Jew," and he presented it as an "oriental myth."

This European zeitgeist, influenced by the East and the West, modern psychology and philosophy, serves as a specific setting for the understanding of the development of imagery techniques of the nineteenth and twentieth century found in hasidism as well as the Musar movement. The development of imagery techniques in Jewish mysticism, from linguistic techniques in the early kabbalah to visual techniques, focusing on individual scenes, in early hasidism, and finally to the imaginal visualization of entire plots in later hasidism, did not occur in a vacuum. This development should be seen as part of a more encompassing and universal process, even when there is no proof of direct influence, and all the more so where there is. Jewish figures developed imagery techniques

against the background of parallel developments and sometimes as a reaction to them, travelers in the Adventures of Ideas. <>

THOMAS AQUINAS

THOMAS AQUINAS AND CONTEMPLATION by Rik Van Nieuwenhove [Oxford University Press, 9780192895295]

- Provides an authoritative introduction to key aspects of Aquinas's thought
- *Offers an interdisciplinary approach engaging with his philosophy, theology, and spirituality*

Contemplation, according to Thomas Aquinas, is the central goal of our life. This study considers the epistemological and metaphysical foundations of the contemplative act; the nature of the active and contemplative lives in light of Aquinas's Dominican calling; the role of faith, charity, and the gifts of the Holy Spirit in contemplation; and contemplation and the beatific vision. Rik Van Nieuwenhove argues that Aquinas espouses a profoundly intellective notion of contemplation in the strictly speculative sense, which culminates in a non-discursive moment of insight (*intuitus simplex*). In marked contrast to his contemporaries Aquinas therefore rejects a sapiential or affective brand of theology. He also employs a broader notion of contemplation, which can be enjoyed by all Christians, in which the gifts of the Holy Spirit are of central importance. *Thomas Aquinas and Contemplation* will appeal to readers interested in this key aspect of Aquinas's thought. Van Nieuwenhove provides a lucid account of central aspects of Aquinas's metaphysics, epistemology, theology, and spirituality. He also offers new insights into the nature of the theological discipline as Aquinas sees it, and how theology relates to philosophy.

Contains new insights in relation to the nature of contemplation, charity, the relation between theology and philosophy

Raises the following important questions: What is truth? How do we come to know anything in this world? Given our reliance on the senses can we know God? What is theology (as the science of God) and how does it relate to philosophical ways of knowing? What is the role of faith and love in our knowledge of God?

CONTENTS

9: Conclusion
Bibliography

Excerpt: In his excellent book **ALBERT AND THOMAS** Simon Tugwell writes that Aquinas's interest was 'not engaged by the treatise on the two lives' (i.e. the active and contemplative). He further alleges that Aquinas 'tried to do justice to the complex and not very coherent inheritance he had received from the Christian tradition, but his heart does not seem to have been in it'. I hope this book has demonstrated that these claims are less than convincing. As a Dominican friar faced with fierce opposition (from secular Parisian Masters such as William of Saint Amour and Gerard of Abbeville) Aquinas developed a rich theology of contemplation from the very beginning of his career and pondered carefully how it related to the active life.

Aquinas differentiates between the active and contemplative lives by appealing to the distinction between the practical and theoretical intellect. As these are not two separate faculties, Aquinas does not propose a dichotomous view of the contemplative and active lives either. He also distinguishes between the contemplative and active lives in another way, inspired by St Gregory the Great, namely by associating them with love of God and neighbour, respectively. Again, this does not imply a dichotomy: love of God generates and finds expression in love of neighbour, the way, ideally, the contemplative life shapes and informs the active life, and in particular those activities, such as teaching and preaching, which find their origin and nourishment in contemplation.

Contemplation is intrinsically more meaningful than action for a number of reasons. Firstly, contemplation is pursued for its own sake, while practical engagements are ultimately for the sake of contemplation in which they find their telos and fulfilment. Secondly, in contemplation we exercise our highest faculty, namely the theoretical intellect. Thirdly, there is an eschatological consideration: in the beatific vision we will contemplate the divine essence while the active life will go into abeyance. The affirmation of the ultimate superiority of contemplation (in terms of intrinsic meaningfulness) does not imply that we should invariably give it preference over practices associated with the active life. On the contrary, given the needs of our fellow human beings, greater love of God is demonstrated when we occasionally relinquish the delights of contemplation for those activities that assist others in attaining their salvation (which consists, ultimately, in contemplation of God in the beatific vision). This was Aquinas's teaching from the very beginning of his career.

Throughout this book I have drawn attention to the wide semantic range of Aquinas's concept of contemplation. There is, of course, speculative contemplation in the strict sense (i.e. philosophical and theological contemplation). He also uses contemplation in a more general sense (*modus communiter*) as denoting an openness or receptivity to the divine truth that should characterize the life of the ordinary Christian (cf. 'Be still and see that I am God'), and which Aquinas associates with the commandment to keep the Sabbath. Whether it is used in the broad or in a more restricted sense, either way Christian contemplation on earth constitutes part of the 'imperfect happiness' which Aquinas contrasts throughout his works with the perfect happiness of the contemplation of God in the afterlife.

It is imperative to be attentive to the distinction between contemplation in the strictly speculative sense and 'broadly conceived'. If not, we may end up with a reading of Aquinas's account of contemplation that is incoherent. Prayer, for instance, is part of the contemplative life (in the broad sense) but not of speculative contemplation, if only because prayer is an exercise of practical reason while speculative contemplation relies on the theoretical intellect. Similarly, we should not assume that Aquinas's discussion of the (cognitive) gifts of the Holy Spirit covers without qualification both contemplation in the broad sense and speculative contemplation.

All our knowledge originates in the senses; the sensory impressions become internalized as *phantasmata* from which the agent intellect extracts intelligible species, which provide the potential intellect with its contents for thinking to occur. Aquinas distinguishes between three fundamental acts of our intellect: apprehension of indivisibles, judgement (i.e. affirmation and negation), and discursive reasoning. Reasoning occurs through *inventio* (discovery) and *iudicium* (judgement) or resolution. These are cognitive processes that rely (either synthetically or analytically) on insight into first principles. Discursive reasoning, therefore, both presupposes and culminates in a simple, intellective (or non-discursive) insight into truth, *intuitus simplex*. Now I ponder whether Aquinas considers the acme of the contemplative operation an act distinct from, and irreducible to, the other three mental operations. More importantly, I also argued that Aquinas supports his argument for the intellective or non-discursive nature of *intuitus simplex* by drawing on Christian Neoplatonist authors, namely Pseudo-Dionysius and Boethius, rather than on Aristotle (who is also familiar with the distinction between *noein* and *dianoeisthai*, intellective understanding and discursive reasoning). I suggested that Aristotle's notions of understanding, knowledge, and wisdom might have been too apodeictic for Aquinas's liking. More particularly, I argued that Aquinas espouses notions of understanding, knowledge, and wisdom that are non-discursive or intellective, when understood as gifts of the Holy Spirit. The non-discursive nature of *intuitus simplex* allowed Aquinas to account for the contemplation 'broadly conceived' of the non-learned Christian, as well as the intellective insight in which the speculative contemplation of scholars culminates.

Contemplation is concerned with the consideration of 'truth'. Together with the other transcendentals. Aquinas defines 'truth' as the convergence of intellect and reality. He argues that natural things are ultimately true insofar as they conform to the divine mind. Truth's ontological foundation in the divine intellect does not, however, commit Aquinas to an illuminist epistemology. Things have their inherent intelligibility, which we grasp through ordinary operations of perception, abstraction, and reasoning. Aquinas's views are therefore in marked contrast to those of some of his contemporaries, such as the authors of the *Summa Halensis* and Bonaventure, according to whom the Word is the condition of possibility of our attainment of truth. Similarly, Bonaventure, and the *Summa Halensis* before him, argued that an explicitly trinitarian foundation grounds the transcendentals of being, truth, and goodness, with efficient, formal, and final causality being associated with the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit respectively. Hence, metaphysical speculation without participation in the mystery of the Trinity is necessarily inadequate. Aquinas does not share this view and is disinclined to draw trinitarian considerations into his exposition of the transcendentals.

Given his empiricist stance (all knowledge is derived through the senses), Aquinas's theological outlook is deeply apophatic: in this life we cannot know what God is but only that he is. Our dependence on *phantasmata* explains the need for another discipline, namely sacra doctrina, which does not rely solely on abstraction and reason (as philosophical sciences do) but is informed by faith in divine revelation itself. Aquinas nonetheless refuses to evacuate philosophy of its integrity and significance. This is not to say that philosophy is somehow 'autonomous'. Aquinas would have been deeply uncomfortable with a notion of philosophy as autonomous and separate from theology (a view which, perhaps, he may have sensed to have been incipiently present in the writings of his teacher, Albert the Great). All sciences are part of a hierarchy. Within the realm of sciences that operate by the natural light of reason, metaphysics is the science which subalternates inferior sciences. Metaphysics, in turn, is characterized by an inherent dynamic towards theological engagement: the study of *ens commune* (being in general) evokes speculation about its Cause, subsistent being, even though the two understandings of 'being' remain analogically distinct. For theological reasons (i.e. out of respect for the integrity of things as created) Aquinas adopts the view that metaphysics is both distinct from, and yet inherently oriented towards, theological

contemplation. Christian theology can, in turn, draw on philosophical arguments to clarify and strengthen (not: 'to prove') its own positions.

Later we had occasion to discuss how Aquinas distinguishes between the theoretical sciences, and between *sacra doctrina* and metaphysics in particular. In terms of their subject matter, the natural sciences deal with forms of things that are material and in motion. Mathematics treats of forms that, while existing in matter, can be considered without reference to their material existence. Theology or divine science examines either entities that always exist without matter or motion (such as God or angels)—and these are the subject of *sacra doctrina*—or things that may exist without matter or motion (but not necessarily)—and these are studied by metaphysics. Similarly, Christian theology immediately considers God, whereas metaphysics examines primarily being as such (ens commune) and God only insofar as he is the principle of its subject matter. More frequently he also employs another way of distinguishing between metaphysics and revealed theology, namely their reliance on the natural light of reason or revelation respectively. We have noted another difference, namely: metaphysics offers fundamental principles and categories to lower theoretical sciences but Christian theology does not sub-alternate any other science.

The different objects of the theoretical sciences require different noetic modes. The natural sciences operate *rationabiliter* (through the mode of reason). Mathematics primarily uses the mode of learning (*disciplinabiliter*), while metaphysics and Christian theology share an intellective mode (*intellectualiter*). Given the differences we have mentioned (especially distinct subject matters and different formal sources of knowledge), how then does Aquinas conceive of the connections between Christian theology, on the one hand, and metaphysics and the other theoretical sciences, on the other? Sacra doctrina is the ultimate architectonic science in a teleological and hierarchical ordering of the sciences. Christian theology considers the First Cause (God) in its own right, whereas philosophy works the other way around (i.e. from studying created effects it comes to consider the divine Cause). This implies an ascending dynamic of the theoretical sciences. All sciences point to and display a(n implicit) dynamic towards God as Cause of everything. The ultimate End of all things, namely God, is the immediate concern of Christian theology, in which the other sciences find their fulfilment: 'divine knowledge is the ultimate end of every act of human knowledge and every operation'. The architectonic status of *sacra doctrina* does not imply that it pursues the activities that pertain to natural or philosophical sciences, just as the *sensus communis* does not perform any of the operations of the exterior senses. It can, however, judge and order them. *Sacra doctrina* can also use the perspectives and reasonings of the other sciences to clarify and strengthen its own arguments.

Again, sacra doctrina sees the diverse knowledge of other sciences from the formal aspect of revelation (*revelabilia*), with a view to God as their beginning and end. The very transcendence this implies means that it relates to other sciences not by usurping their subject matter but by considering it from a higher, unified vantage point. Aquinas is therefore very happy to affirm the meaningfulness and integrity of philosophical pursuits: 'The study of philosophy is in itself lawful and commendable (*studium philosophiae secundum se est licitum et laudabile)*. He is also happy to use rational arguments throughout his theological writings; I explained that his notion that things cannot be both believed and known at the same time does not undermine the status of theology as a science; and rather than setting up a separation of theology from philosophy it softens the exact boundary lines between arguments that rely on revelation and those that rely exclusively on natural reason.

Throughout this book I have questioned a charismatic reading of Aquinas's account of speculative contemplation. It is no coincidence that he resists an affective interpretation of the virtue of faith. His intellectualist stance also finds expression in the way he conceives of the theological discipline,

which in marked contrast to his contemporaries he considers to be primarily theoretical rather than practical. Again, the mature Aquinas does not appeal to the gifts of the Holy Spirit to legitimize the scientific status of the theology. Instead he adopts the theme of sub-alternation of theology to divine scientia. Through faith in revelation the theologian shares, no matter how inadequately, in the divine self-knowledge. This reliance on revelation does not compromise the scientific status of theology, for all scientific disciplines (with the exception of those that rely on self-evident principles, such as logic) borrow their principles from higher sciences. Theology is not unique amongst the sciences in operating with a rationality that is fiduciary. On the other hand, *sacra doctrina* retains a unique status amongst the sciences insofar as its principles cannot be known through the light of natural reason but derive from revelation.

Securing the scientific credentials of a discipline by appealing to its sub-alternated status does not require that the first principles of the science are self-evident. Before he hit upon the notion of sub-alternation, Aquinas tentatively considered the view that the articles of faith are per se noti. In such a view, the gifts of the Holy Spirit may prove indispensable in coming to understand these foundational principles. The theory of sub-alternation considerably weakens, or even dissolves, the dependency on cognitive gifts to render epistemic cogency to our theological pursuits. A musician does not need to understand fully the principles of mathematics that support musical theory; similarly, it is not required that the theologian enjoy a comprehensive understanding of the articles of faith. Thus, the theory of sub-alternation that Aquinas comes to espouse assists him in adopting a concept of theology that does not rely on the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

While Aquinas does not espouse an affective brand of theology, he is perfectly aware that theology can have a transformative dimension in which we become gradually assimilated into divine truth through the theological virtue of faith. Here Aquinas's distinction between God as the material object and the formal object [ive] of faith is relevant. We come to know God through God. In varying degrees (mainly depending on whether or not it is informed by charity) faith prepares the mind for a convergence or assimilation to the divine truth that will come to ultimate fruition in the afterlife. Sacra doctrina is a participation in holy learning or teaching that assists us in growing in likeness to, and assenting to, the authority of divine truth.

We explore the role of charity in contemplation. Undoubtedly, the contemplative act consists essentially in the operation of the intellect. Nonetheless, the will and charity are involved in the contemplative act insofar as delight naturally accompanies it. In order to explain this, I first discussed the nature of love in general before dealing with charity or love for God, which, so Aquinas argues, moves us towards contemplation. In this context I argued that an early text in which Aquinas associates philosophical and theological contemplation with love of self and God, respectively, does not support an interpretation that Aquinas drives a wedge between philosophy and theology. On the contrary, given that love of others presupposes love of self, Aquinas might actually be hinting at a harmonious relation between philosophy and theology.

The discussion of charity strengthened and hopefully clarified the argument developed on the relation between the active and contemplative lives. Charity is friendship with God for his own sake, from which love of neighbour ensues. In a similar way, engagement with certain practices of the active life (such as teaching and preaching) flow from the contemplation of God. Charity is also deeply gratuitous: we love God for his own sake. As charity bestows a theocentric focus upon everything we do, it nourishes the non-utilitarian character of contemplation as a leisurely pursuit, fostering the receptivity and stillness required for a free contemplation of all things.

Insofar as love moves us towards contemplation, which then ensues in delight when the intellect apprehends truth, a trinitarian dimension is implied in contemplation (both in the strictly speculative

and in the more general senses of the word). In his mature writings Aquinas argues that we actualize our image character (Gen. 1:26) when we come to know and love God, i.e. when we share, no matter how inadequately, in the generation of the Word and the procession of the Holy Spirit as Love. This image character will of course be fully actualized when we meet the trinitarian God face to face in the beatific vision.

In order to underscore once more the non-affective brand of Aquinas's theology it may be useful to contrast his approach with that of Bonaventure. 'The passing over from knowledge (*scientia*) to wisdom is not secure; therefore, it is necessary to propose a medium, namely holiness,' thus wrote St Bonaventure. According to the Franciscan theologian, theology involves a loving disposition (habitus affectivus), requiring prayerful devotion and the assistance of the gifts of the Holy Spirit. The object of faith is above ordinary reason but not above reason elevated by the gifts of knowledge and understanding, which assist us in understanding what has been believed. The gift of wisdom, then, is an experiential knowledge of God, which originates in knowledge but is consummated in affection insofar as 'the taste or savouring is an experiential knowledge of what is good and sweet'. In contrast to the mature Aquinas, Bonaventure is of the view that this sort of affective disposition shaped by the gifts is necessary for speculative contemplation. Contemplation of the Trinity requires the gift of fear, assisting us in acknowledging the divine majesty; the gift of understanding, to perceive its truth; and the gift of wisdom, to savour or taste its goodness. Aquinas's theological temperament is rather different: less affective and charismatic, and less sceptical of the claims of (philosophical) reason.

In his early Commentary on the Sentences Aquinas still struggled to secure the scientific credentials of theology. In the relevant question at the beginning of the work he does not refer to the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which probably reveals his implicit reservations concerning this approach. Admittedly, there are some early passages that can be interpreted as a remnant of the view that the gifts assist us in the theological task by enabling us to understand better the articles of faith. Aquinas discusses the gifts in *III Sent. d. 34–5* in light of the distinction between the contemplative and active lives, as his predecessors had done (from Peter Lombard and William of Auxerre to Bonaventure). In the *Commentary on the Sentences* the gifts of understanding and wisdom assist the ways of discovery (*via inventionis*) and judgement (*via iudicii*) respectively. This intimate connection between the basic processes of reasoning and the (cognitive) gifts seems to imply that theological discourse cannot proceed without reliance on the gifts.

Once Aquinas adopted the theme of subalternation he could reconceptualize the connection between the gifts and our contemplative act. In the *Prima Secundae* of the *Summa Theologiae* Aquinas abandons the framework of the two lives to distinguish between the different gifts. They are now differentiated on the basis of the functions of the faculties (the speculative and practical intellect, and the appetitive powers). True, the distinction between the speculative and practical intellect is closely related to that between the contemplative and active lives. Still, an important shift has nonetheless occurred. The gifts of understanding and wisdom now perfect speculative apprehension and judgement respectively. These are simple, non-discursive operations of the intellect. In other words, the connection between the cognitive gifts and the reasoning processes (which are obviously central in theological discourse and argumentation) has become considerably weakened. This allows Aquinas to do justice to a more broad-ranging notion of contemplation, namely one that could include the contemplation of the ordinary, unlearned Christian, nourished by the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

In the *Secunda Secundae*, then, appending the gifts to the theological and cardinal virtues further positions the central role the gifts occupy in the Christian life, while their connection with speculative contemplation has become further loosened. In this context it is revealing that the gifts of wisdom and understanding, previously exclusively theoretical, have now also acquired a practical

dimension. In short, the gifts remain of central importance for the Christian life; but the initial link between the cognitive gifts and speculative contemplation becomes increasingly weaker throughout Aquinas's career.

As indicated earlier, Aquinas's treatment of prayer further illustrates that he resisted an affective notion of theology. Aquinas conceives of prayer primarily in petitionary terms; it is therefore an act of the practical intellect and cannot be immediately associated with the act of contemplation. It can prepare us for contemplation—and we know from hagiographical sources that Aquinas often prayed before study or when faced with a difficult theological problem—but it is not an essential part of contemplation as such. This explains why he hardly mentions prayer when discussing contemplation in the strict sense, or vice versa.

Again, Aquinas's theology should not be characterized as 'sapiential' if one takes this term in an affective, savouring sense. Aquinas insists that theology is wisdom (sapientia) in the Aristotelean sense because as an architectonic science it orders all other sciences, concerned as it is with the ultimate Cause and End of all things. He proves himself, however, decidedly less than enthusiastically disposed towards a 'savoury' or affective notion of theological wisdom, pointing out drily that the etymological connection between sapientia and sapere only applies in Latin, and not in other languages. Insofar as he entertains a savoury notion of wisdom he reserves it very much for wisdom as a gift of the Holy Spirit. The gifts of the Holy Spirit are, undoubtedly, of major significance for the Christian life. We should, however, refrain from confusing what Aquinas says about the gift of wisdom with wisdom as a cognitive virtue, or theological wisdom. In marked contrast to Bonaventure, Aquinas points out that only the cognitive virtue of wisdom, and not wisdom as a gift of the Holy Spirit, is necessary to engage with the theological discipline.

Aquinas's discussion of the beatific vision appears to be in tension with his overall epistemological account as to how we acquire knowledge, and to some extent it undoubtedly is. On earth we acquire knowledge by relying on the senses and the abstraction of the intelligible species from *phantasmata*, enabling us to apprehend, make affirmations and negations, and reason. In the beatific vision an illuminist account is adopted: the soul will be flooded with the light of glory, enabling us to know God in an immediate, non-discursive manner. There is, however, a significant element of continuity, namely, the intellective, non-discursive nature of the insight that characterizes the acme of the contemplative act here on earth, what Aquinas calls *intuitus simplex*. This is the main reason why Aquinas can call speculative contemplation (in theology and philosophy) an inchoatio beatitudinis, a foretaste of heavenly beatitude. Thus, the *intuitus simplex* on earth anticipates and points towards the non-discursive union with God in the beatific vision.

The beatific vision is the telos of our entire life, in terms of both intellect and will. The theoretical nature of the beatific vision constitutes one of the main reasons why Aquinas gives preference to the contemplative over the active life in terms of intrinsic meaningfulness, although, in this life we occasionally must pursue activities of the practical life for the sake of our fellow humans, especially those activities that are nourished by contemplation of God.

Unlike his teacher Albert the Great, Aquinas has not engaged with the sciences of his day (e.g. biology). He was first and foremost a theologian and was, in contrast to his mentor, unwilling to characterize the non-theological sciences as autonomous. While Aquinas acknowledges their distinctive nature, they are nonetheless ordered towards the architectonic science, i.e. theology. Nor does Aquinas suggest that philosophical happiness is possible on earth. Undoubtedly, an imperfect happiness is attainable, of which earthly contemplation is an integral part, but it will always fall short of our ultimate goal or finis, the complete and lasting happiness we will enjoy when we encounter God in the beatific vision. <>

SUMMISTAE: THE COMMENTARY TRADITION ON THOMAS AQUINAS' SUMMA THEOLOGIAE FROM THE 15TH TO THE 17TH CENTURIES edited by Lidia Lanza and Marco Toste [Ancient and Medieval Philosophy, Leuven University Press, 9789462702622]

The importance of the *Summa theologiae* on late scholasticism

Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae* is one of the classics in the history of theology and philosophy. Beyond its influence in the Middle Ages, its importance is also borne out by the fact that it became the subject of commentary. During the sixteenth century it was gradually adopted as the official text for the teaching of scholastic theology in most European Catholic universities. As a result, university professors throughout Europe and the colonial Americas started lecturing and producing commentaries on the *Summa* and using it as a starting point for many theological and philosophical discussions. Some of the works of major authors such as Vitoria, Soto, Molina, Suárez and Arriaga are for all intents and purposes commentaries on the *Summa*. This book is the first scholarly endeavour to investigate this commentary tradition. As it examines late scholasticism against its institutional backdrop and contains studies of unpublished manuscripts and texts, it will remain an authoritative source for the research of late scholasticism.

Contributors: Igor Agostini (University of Salento), Monica Brînzei (CNRS–IRHT, Paris), William Duba (University of Fribourg), Matthew Gaetano (Hillsdale College), Helen Hattab (University of Houston), Lidia Lanza (University of Lisbon), Mauro Mantovani (Salesian Pontifical University), Daniel D. Novotný and Tomáš Machula (University of South Bohemia in České Budějovice), Chris Schabel (University of Cyprus), Jean-Luc Solère (Boston College), Marco Toste (University of Fribourg), Andreas Wagner (Goethe University of Frankfurt), Ueli Zahnd (University of Geneva)

CONTENTS

Excerpt: The Commentary Tradition on The Summa Theologiae by Lidia Lanza (Centre of Philosophy University of Lisbon) – Marco Toste (Université de Fribourg)

Why a Volume on the Commentary Tradition on the Summa Theologiae?

A great part of the history of philosophy is comprised of commentaries and commentary traditions. Indeed, a number of the major works from late antiquity up to the early modern period are commentaries. And while commentaries were abundant, only a handful of philosophical and theological works became objects of a commentary tradition spanning more than two centuries. This is above all visible in the Middle Ages, the quintessential period of the commentary traditions. During this heyday, there were a great number of commentaries, for instance, on the Bible, on the works of the corpus Aristotelicum, on medical texts, on Cicero, on Ovid and so on. However, very few later medieval texts were commented on and gave rise to a commentary tradition. Among the few that were deemed significant, we may list Peter Lombard's Sentences, Gratian's Decretum, Peter of Spain's Summulae, Dante's Divina commedia, and Thomas Aquinas' Summa Theologiae. This fact alone demonstrates the importance of the Summa Theologiae. Yet the Summa Theologiae is unique in this respect: its commentary tradition started quite a bit later (compared with the commentaries on the Sentences, the Decretum, and the Divina commedia) and is in some sense more closely connected with the late Renaissance than with the Middle Ages. The commentary tradition on the Summa Theologiae owes its existence primarily to the replacement of Peter Lombard's Sentences with the Summa Theologiae, which effectively meant that the Summa Theologiae became the standard text for teaching scholastic theology at universities in Catholic areas in Europe. Since the lectures were based on the Summa Theologiae, and produced by means of the medieval practice of dictation, reportationes of those lectures began to circulate within the universities. At the same time, commentaries on the Summa Theologiae started to be published. All this activity gave birth to a commentary tradition that lasted over two hundred years.

As with all such cases, the commentary tradition on the Summa Theologiae is not to be confounded with or subsumed into the text commented on. The act of commenting always begets something that was not in the original text or uncovers something understood as hidden in the source and in need of both expression and evaluation. The commentator is situated in a context other than the original work, engages in debates with other commentators that can go far beyond the source text, and draws on other works that appeared at a later date and that may have expanded the original

issue. In the case of the Summa Theologiae, its history and influence over the centuries is not exactly the same as the history of its commentary tradition. The present volume is therefore neither a collection of articles on the reception of the Summa Theologiae nor a history of Thomism and Neo-Thomism, though it might very well contribute to it. These caveats serve to advance another: this commentary tradition should not be regarded a priori as a Thomistic and homogeneous tradition, for as the chapters in this volume will show, non-Thomistic ideas were also conveyed throughout the commentary tradition.

The aim of this volume is twofold: first, to show how the Summa Theologiae advanced to become a crucial authoritative text, how its commentary tradition emerged, and how this tradition related to medieval scholastic thought. Second, to illustrate with some case-studies how the commentaries contributed to the philosophical and theological discourse of early modern thought; more specifically, this volume explores how specific topics contained in the Summa Theologiae were interpreted by different authors over time and thereby views formulated there were deepened or transformed.

The Summa Theologiae is undoubtedly a crucial work in the Western tradition. The tremendous influence it exerted shortly after Aquinas' death in 1274 is well known and extended both to works of philosophy—the II-II became the basis for the late 13th-century Parisian commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics—and theology, as attested to by the late 13th-century Correctoria controversy. The Summa Theologiae was even used as the main source in texts intended for broader audiences, such as the Summa confessorum by John of Freiburg and the Tractatus de virtutibus et vitiis by Jordan of Quedlinburg. The influence of the Summa Theologiae was so pervasive that it was translated into Greek and (partially) into Hebrew during the Middle Ages. Moreover, Reformed theologians in the 16th century still considered it a significant work and made extensive use of it. Nevertheless, it is evident that its status throughout the centuries cannot solely be attributed to its intrinsic philosophical value; its canonization as an authoritative text owes a great deal to other factors: its promotion within the Dominican Order in the Middle Ages and within other orders (chiefly the Jesuits) in the late Renaissance; the weight that Thomism gained as a school of thought; the declaration of Aquinas as 'Doctor of the Church' in 1567 by Pope Pius V; and the institutionalization of the Summa Theologiae as one of the texts to be read in university classes in the 16th century. The commentary tradition on the Summa Theologiae is a product of all these factors. For this reason, this introduction gives a brief account of the history and context of the commentary tradition.

Recent decades have seen a growing interest in late Scholasticism. This is attested to by the publication of numerous collective volumes on major authors, such as Molina and Suárez,5 and on specific themes, principally related to metaphysics, ethics, political thought, and the so-called 'School of Salamanca'. Moreover, volumes penned by individual authors have produced comprehensive studies taking into account both numerous and less well-known authors.6 Such an interest in late Scholasticism has led to the creation of dedicated research websites, the most significant of which is Scholasticon, in no small part due to its indispensable section Nomenclator.7 This scholarly undertaking, of which this volume is just a part, has been changing the landscape of the research field. Nonetheless, it suffers from one problem: many of the texts produced by late scholastic authors have almost never been regarded for what they first and foremost were, that is, commentaries.

Numerous works produced during the 16th and 17th centuries were indeed nothing more than commentaries on the Summa Theologiae, even if they bear titles such as De legibus and De iustitia et iure. Jacob Schmutz has labeled the process whereby sections of the Summa Theologiae, such as

De legibus or De fide, were separated from the whole and treated as if they constituted an autonomous block the 'dismantling of the Summa Theologiae'. This dismantling of texts partly had to do with the slow pace of the university lectures on the Summa Theologiae. For example, by the end of the 16th century in Salamanca, the study of the entire Summa Theologiae took sixteen years. This meant that a professor read only one section of the Summa Theologiae per academic year, and in Coimbra the sixteen questions that constitute the De fide were read by the holder of the Prime chair over the course of two academic years. More importantly, however, such a dismantling does not obliterate the fact that the commentaries were intended by their authors as commentaries on a specific part of the Summa Theologiae, thus implicitly belonging to a commentary tradition. Being part of a tradition means that these works adopted a specific approach and drew (whether explicitly or implicitly) arguments, lines of thought, and even sources from previous commentaries of that same tradition. In other words, if we approach these texts as commentaries, our assessment of any supposed originality on the part of a given author will be far more cautious, and we will be in a better position to grasp both the point and the backdrop of the discussions.

The studies contained in this volume take up this approach. By examining one specific question or article of the Summa Theologiae, and how it evolved within (or sometimes beyond) the commentary tradition, these articles provide new insights about the transmission of ideas, shed light on specific problems of early modern thought, and highlight how authors outside this tradition might have made use of the works produced within it (see the chapters by Solère and Hattab). At the same time, as the works studied here are commentaries on a medieval text and address the views of other medieval authors who opposed Aquinas, they prolong discussions that emerged in medieval Scholasticism. Thus, this volume also contributes to the understanding of how late Scholasticism related to and rested on medieval Scholasticism (see the chapters by Agostini, Mantovani, Duba, Toste, and Lanza).

By studying how a question was interpreted diachronically through more than one commentary, the approach used in this volume enables us to gain a feel for the commentary tradition, that is, how an argument passed from one commentary to another and how a given debate evolved. This approach also enables us to draw attention to some less studied authors and to grasp the importance that different commentaries might have played in the development of a discussion. The recent historiographical attention paid to some major scholastic authors, such as Molina and Suárez, has been at the expense of other key commentators, the most notable section of the Summa Theologiae, his audience was perhaps more interested in his metaphysical thought, given the number of manuscripts of his lectures on the I. As is well known, the Jesuits were even more focused on morals and politics, but we should not lose sight of the fact the three major Jesuits of the late 16th century were famous for their metaphysical thought and commentaries on the I, namely Molina, Vázquez, and Suárez.

All this suggests that we should not overplay the significance of 'practical philosophy' (or 'speculative moral theology') and moral topics for Salamanca, for late Scholasticism, and for the commentary tradition on the Summa Theologiae. As some of the chapters of this volume show, authors continued to deal with traditional topics—God's existence, angels, and substance (see the chapters by Agostini, Novotný and Machu la, and Hattab)—and many studies have long since established that metaphysical topics were fiercely debated by late scholastics and within this commentary tradition. In the 17th century, it is very likely that metaphysical questions were more debated within this tradition than moral and political topics.

The commentary tradition on the Summa Theologiae can be divided into four main periods. The first occurred in the 15th century when (German and Italian) Dominicans started to produce

paraphrases, abridgements, and even literal interpretations of the Summa Theologiae (which explained the text in the form of propositions and syllogisms). Because Ueli Zahnd treats the works of this period in great detail in his chapter, we will limit ourselves here to only a few brief remarks. The earliest works on the Summa Theologiae were clearly produced for teaching purposes, although according to the available evidence the Summa Theologiae was never used in the classroom in the late 15th century (the sole exception being the work of Johannes Tinctoris). As Zahnd shows, the Summa Theologiae did not replace the Sentences in the 15th century as the textbook at the university, and the continual Dominican inclination toward the production of works that might help students to better understand the Summa Theologiae was part of a trend to produce the same kind of works on other scholastic authors, such as Scotus and Bonaventure. Almost none of the earliest works on the Summa Theologiae were printed and therefore their impact was at best negligible. The works by Laurentius Gervasii and Gerhard of Elten thus never advanced past manuscript form. The first printed works related to the Summa Theologiae were the ones by Henry of Gorkum, Clemens de Terra Salsa, and Konrad Köllin.

By the late 15th and early 16th century, a growing interest in the Summa Theologiae developed at the University of Paris38 and in Spain and Italy as well. Consequently, universities started to establish chairs dedicated to the teaching of Aquinas' doctrine—though the teaching undertaken in those chairs focused on his Sentences commentary and not on the Summa Theologiae.

Despite the reduction in the number of commentaries, it is during this initial period that Cajetan's commentary on the entire Summa Theologiae appeared (issued in Venice between 1508 and 1523), and it played a pivotal role until the end of the 16th century. The fact that no Salamancan master printed a commentary until the end of the 1570s surely helped Cajetan's work assume such a prominent position, along with the fact that, unlike the commentaries by other Dominicans, his covered the entire Summa Theologiae. This also explains why his commentary was chosen to accompany the text of the Summa Theologiae in the Piana Edition in 1569-70.

We can further understand the success of Cajetan's commentary if we compare it with one of the few commentaries printed during this period, namely the commentary by Konrad Köllin (1512). Köllin's work is a true literal commentary in that it divides the text of each article of the Summa Theologiae into lemmata and thus separately explains the solution and each argument against the solution. By contrast, Cajetan comments on each article of the Summa Theologiae, thus treating the text as one whole. In this regard, the latter commentary is considered more a text in its own right. All successive commentators followed Cajetan's approach, though over time the commentaries did increasingly gravitate toward a scholastic arrangement of the questions, i.e. with arguments pros and cons. This, of course, does not correspond to Cajetan's characteristic explanations of the articles, which are often quite short.

Given the structure of Köllin's commentary, its impact was rather limited—it is rarely quoted by Vitoria, much less by successive Salamancan commentators. In contrast, because Cajetan did not comment on the text of each article step by step, but just focused on its critical points, he was able to give a direction to the discussion. In fact, the issues Cajetan emphasized in his explanation of an article usually went on to become the focus of successive commentators' treatments. His approach explains why he enjoyed a high degree of influence in Salamanca, though many of his positions were also the target of criticism there.

Cajetan's commentary on the Summa Theologiae belongs to the Thomistic trend of the early 16th century and has to be seen alongside other works, for example, Francesco Silvestri of Ferrara's commentary on the ScG (Venice, 1534). And within Cajetan's output, the commentary on the Summa Theologiae was just one among many commentaries he produced, whether on other texts

by Aquinas, such as De ente et essentia, or works by Aristotle. This changed with Vitoria, as the Summa Theologiae became the only scholastic text theologians commented on. And another significant difference between Cajetan and Vitoria is that, while Cajetan's work is not related to his teaching, Vitoria's commentaries on the Summa Theologiae stemmed from his university lectures.

The second period of the commentary tradition begins with Francisco de Vitoria's teachings based on the Summa Theologiae in his capacity as the Prime chair of the Faculty of Theology of Salamanca (starting with the academic year 1527-28). A scholarly commonplace tells that Vitoria was merely one among many masters at various universities who introduced the Summa Theologiae as the text to be used in the classroom. This portrayal owes much to Ricardo Villoslada's work on the University of Paris. It neglects, however, a major factor: Vitoria did not adopt the Summa Theologiae while holding a university chair created specifically for the teaching of Aquinas' doctrine—the via Thomae—and which was just one chair among others dedicated to various scholastic authors, such as Duns Scotus. This was in fact the case in some universities: for instance, in Alcalá—prior to the arrival of Vitoria in Salamanca—Pedro Sánchez de Ciruelo lectured on the Summa Theologiae in a chair devoted to Aquinas. On the contrary, Vitoria started using the Summa Theologiae in the Prime chair, that is, the most prestigious chair in any faculty of theology. Vitoria is thus part of a wider movement—essentially a Dominican one—that from the late 15th century onward started paying more attention to the Summa Theologiae, and for this reason it is clear that Vitoria was not the prime initiator of any movement or trend. Having said that, Vitoria was indeed the first professor in Europe to make use of the Summa Theologiae in his capacity as Prime chair, and this is why he had such a tremendous impact. He started lecturing on the Summa Theologiae in his second academic year as professor in Salamanca, followed later by Soto in the Vespers chair, who started reading the Summa Theologiae in 1532-33. From that moment onward, the two major chairs effectively turned into chairs based on the Summa Theologiae, and no holder of these chairs after Vitoria ever read the Sentences. In this respect, Vitoria can certainly be regarded as someone who introduced an innovation. The novelty he triggered was so strongly felt that Vitoria and his successors in the Prime chair, Melchor Cano and Domingo de Soto, took care to justify the benefits of the Summa Theologiae over the Sentences.

This second period of the commentary tradition extends to the 1580s and revolves essentially around Salamanca and the Dominican order. It was from Salamanca that Vitoria's revolution spread to other places, first to Iberian universities and later to other countries. A change, however, is already noticeable in previous decades. The Jesuits started to become involved in theological higher education in the 1550s: while for much of the 1560s they tended to focus on the Sentences, by the end of the decade the Summa Theologiae had become the basis of their scholastic theological teachings. Shortly thereafter, the first Jesuit commentaries on the Summa Theologiae appeared, and although none of them was ever printed, they nevertheless circulated among Jesuit colleges. We will see later in this introduction the motifs behind the Jesuits' adoption of the Summa Theologiae, but here it is more important to underline that they were part of a movement of transmission of knowledge whose center of influence was Salamanca.

If we analyze how the Summa Theologiae was first introduced and used at universities, it immediately becomes apparent that it is often tied to former students of Salamanca—who had studied under Vitoria and Soto—that went on to teach at other universities. Since it was by no means unusual to bring along manuscripts containing lectures, they drew on and thereby disseminated the work of their former Salamancan professors. A few examples are perhaps useful in this regard. For instance, the Dominican Mart ín de Ledesma, who graduated from Salamanca and was appointed to the Vespers chair in Coimbra in 1541, took with him to Coimbra texts by Vitoria and Soto, which he based his lectures on. Later, in 1557, when Mart ín started teaching in the Prime

chair in Coimbra, he adopted the same approach as Domingo de Soto in his commentary on Book IV of the Sentences: while Mart ín maintained the order of distinctiones found in the Sentences, within each distinctio he actually commented on the corresponding question of the Summa Theologiae, which means that he was actually reading the Summa Theologiae in the classroom. Once his tenure was over, when he was replaced by the Dominican António de São Domingos in 1576, the Summa Theologiae was permanently established as the textbook to be used by the Prime chair. Another such case is that of Fernando Vellosillo: he studied in Alcalá and taught in Salamanca (1544-50) and Sig üenza, where he became rector in 1541 and later held the Vespers chair (1551-66); in 1541 he copied a manuscript containing Soto's lectures on the I-II, which suggests that he did so to use Soto's ideas in his own teaching. This peregrinatio academica was quite pronounced throughout the Iberian Peninsula, and professors taught at more than one university over the course of their careers. It was precisely this heightened mobility that initially made the fast spread of the Summa Theologiae possible. And although the Dominicans played a major role, members from other religious orders also took part in this process. Two early examples of this are the secular Bartolomé de Torres and the Jesuit Francisco de Toledo. A pupil of Vitoria, Torres taught in Salamanca (1542-47) and later became a professor in Sig üenza (1547-66); his commentaries on the Summa Theologiae are clearly marked by Vitoria's influence.48 After studying under Soto in Salamanca, Francisco de Toledo taught at the Roman College. In his lectures on the Summa Theologiae, offered between 1562 and 1569, he quotes Soto and—quite remarkably—the unpublished lectures given in Salamanca by the Dominican Juan de la Peña.

Within just a few decades, the innovation introduced by Vitoria had transformed theology in Spain, and the Iberian universities started to change their statutes accordingly and to establish the Summa Theologiae as the textbook for scholastic theology. Even in Alcalá, the Dominicans were able to secure the two chairs of St. Thomas and to lecture on the Summa Theologiae in these chairs during the decisive decades of 1540 and 1550. But not all such cases of use of the Summa Theologiae were connected to Salamanca. A notable outlier, analyzed by Matthew Gaetano in this volume, is the University of Padua, where from 1545 to 1568 Dominicans lectured on the Summa Theologiae. Moreover, as early as the 1540s, the University of Valencia was already using the Summa Theologiae in one chair and concurrently the Sentences in another.52 And it is evident that the teaching carried out there owes nothing to Salamanca—the commentary by the professor of Valencia, the Mercedarian Jerónimo Pérez, on Summa Theologiae I (published in 1547) takes an approach quite different than the one used by Vitoria and Soto in that he divides the text into dubia and notanda and refers more often to Aquinas' other works and less to other medieval scholastic authors.

In the 1550s and 1560s, not only did other universities start to adopt the Summa Theologiae but the Jesuits began to play a more significant role. In this sense, these two decades can be seen as the beginning of a development that truly came to fruition in the 1590s: the shift away from a Salamanca-centered commentary tradition to commentaries produced elsewhere, mostly at Jesuit universities, where the most significant commentaries were produced.

Starting at the end of the 1570s, another significant transformation occurred: the Dominicans of Salamanca engaged in the publication of commentaries on the Summa Theologiae. This Dominican enterprise, however, did not go unchallenged; other religious orders in Salamanca, i.e. the Augustinians and the Mercedarians, immediately set about publishing their own commentaries. Over the course of 16 years, four Salamanca n theologians were assigned the task by their respective religious order to compose commentaries on parts of the Summa Theologiae in order to be published: the Dominican Bartolomé de Medina (and later Domingo Báñez), the Augustinian Pedro de Aragón, and the Mercedarian Francisco Zumel. Their commentaries were printed in the following order: Bartolomé de Medina's commentary on the I-II (1578); Medina's commentary on the III

(1584); Domingo Báñez's commentary on the II-II, qq. 1-46 (1584); Pedro de Aragón's commentary on II-II, qq. 1-46 (1584); Báñez's commentary on I, qq. 1-64 (1585); Zumel's commentary on the I (1585-87, 2 vols.); Pedro de Aragón's commentary on II-II, qq. 57-100 (1590); Báñez's commentary on II-II, qq. 57-88 (1594); Zumel's commentary on I-II, qq. 71-89 (1594). As this list clearly shows, the Dominicans were the only order whose printed commentaries covered all the parts of the Summa Theologiae and their commentaries proved to be more influential; in fact, Medina's and Báñez' commentaries were the only ones of this list to be reissued in other countries.

These were, however, not the first commentaries to be printed in Spain: Soto in Salamanca (1558-60), Mart ín de Ledesma (1555-60), and Francisco de Cristo (1579) in Coimbra all published Sentences commentaries whose structure was indebted to the Summa Theologiae . And, as noted above, the Mercedarian Jerónimo Pérez, in Valencia, and Bartolomé de Torres, in Sig üenza, published partial commentaries on Summa Theologiae I in 1548 and 1567, respectively.

But the publication of commentaries on the Summa Theologiae associated with the University of Salamanca had a greater impact, since Salamanca was the most important uni versity on the Iberian Peninsula and not merely a regional university like Sigüenza, Valencia, or even Coimbra. Moreover, by the late 1570s, numerous universities had already adopted the Summa Theologiae as their primary theological textbook. This meant that there was a market for the printed commentaries by Medina, Báñez, and Aragón on different parts of the Summa Theologiae.

This editorial enterprise on the part of the Dominicans can be understood as an endeavour to compete with other religious orders that were gaining prominence in Salamanca, principally the Augustinians and the Jesuits. It can also be seen as a response to the role assigned to Cajetan's commentary, which had been printed along with the Summa Theologiae in the Piana edition and therefore had gained a kind of 'official status'. But whatever the reason, such an enterprise had a major impact. From that moment onward, the Salamancan commentaries started to be read throughout Europe. We should bear in mind that almost all the manuscripts containing Salamancan commentaries are preserved in Iberian libraries and in the Vatican Library (in a group of manuscripts that nonetheless arrived there at a later period from Spain). This means that the Salamancan commentaries did not cross the Pyrenees and that the situation changed only in the 1580s, that is, when commentaries on the Summa Theologiae produced in Salamanca started to be published. Prior to the 1580s, the Salamancan theologians were known and read in Europe only thanks to their printed texts, none of which was (nominally) a commentary on the Summa Theologiae.

This second period of the commentary tradition comprises four characteristics. First, the commentaries tend, over time, to be arranged in the scholastic question-form, that is, with arguments pro and con plus a solution. This format eventually helped liberate authors from the text commented on, a development clearly evident in the third period of the commentary tradition. Second, the commentaries take the Summa Theologiae as a starting point and significantly broaden the discussion of some articles—notable examples are II-II, q. 1 (on the object of faith) and II-II, q. 62 (on restitution), whose lengthy discussions resemble independent treatises on these subjects. Third, the commentaries still discuss medieval scholastic authors—obviously only those authors whose works were available in print.60 Fourth, with very few exceptions, they do not feel the need to address the views of Franciscan authors (Scotus is probably the most quoted Franciscan author). The motif lies in the very limited presence of Franciscans in Iberian universities and in the dearth of works of scholastic theology produced by Spanish Franciscans. This all started to change in 1560, when the general congregation of the Franciscans established the reading of Scotus in their studia. In the decades that followed, the number of theological works published by Spanish Franciscans began to increase. And within this context, it should thus come as no surprise that in Báñez's commentary

on the II-II (1584), more specifically in his interpretation of q. 33, on fraternal correction, he feels compelled to spend several pages discussing in detail the view of the Franciscan Bernardino de Arévalo, who had argued in 1557 for the illegitimacy of fraternal correction.

The third period of the commentary tradition begins in the 1590s. The number of printed commentaries skyrocketed—significantly broadening their readership and thus fostering the exchange of ideas and criticism among commentators—and the debates increased in their sophistication. All this arguably makes this period the most important of the commentary tradition on the Summa Theologiae. This is also the period in which a Dominican-centered commentary tradition gives way to a scene dominated by the Jesuits.

This period began when, in the wake of the Salamancan Dominicans, Jesuits started publishing commentaries: Molina's Concordia (1588), which is somewhat a commentary on some questions of the I; Francisco Suárez's commentary on III, qq. 1-26 (1590); Luis de Molina's commentary on the I (1592); Gregory of Valencia's commentaries on the I and I-II (1592), II-II (1596), and III (1597); and Gabriel Vázquez's commentaries on the I (1598), I-II (1598-1605), and III (1609-1615). One could also mention Francisco Suárez's main works, published mostly in the 1600s; nevertheless, the greater part of his output is to be understood as commentaries on the Summa Theologiae, broadly understood. It is worth noting that although three of the four aforementioned Jesuit authors are somehow connected with Salamanca—Molina studied law there for a while; Gregory of Valencia earned his bachelor degree there; and he and Suárez studied at the Salamancan Jesuit College—their commentaries are related to the teaching carried out in other institutions: Molina in Evora, Vázquez at the Roman College and principally in Alcalá; Gregory of Valencia in Dillingen and later in Ingolstadt; and Suárez in several places, but mainly at the Roman College, Alcalá, and Coimbra.

This third period definitely widens the commentary tradition's scope: it is no longer confined to Iberian universities and Jesuit colleges. Salamanca, nevertheless, continued to be a source of important commentaries, such as those by Francisco Araújo, Agustín Antolínez, Pedro de Godoy, and the Cursus theologicus of the Salmanticenses. But by the beginning of the 17th century, Salamanca underwent another crucial change. The Dominicans held the Prime chair from 1526 to 1604, i.e. from Vitoria to Báñez, and the Vespers chair from 1532 to 1565, i.e. from Soto to Juan de la Peña. They also held the minor chairs of St. Thomas and Durand—the latter from 1575 to 1596. However, the Augustinians slowly started to secure the two major chairs and even some minor chairs, ending the dominance of the Dominicans. A few dates should suffice to illustrate this: the Vespers chair was held by the Augustinians Juan Guevara (1565-1600), Juan Márquez (1607-21), and Francisco Cornejo (1621-30); and the Prime chair was held by Antolínez (1609-26), Basilio Ponce de León (1626-29), and Francisco Cornejo (1630-38). Already in the second half of the 16th century, other Augustinians such as Pedro de Aragón, Luis de León, and Alfonso de Mendoza had already held the chairs of St. Thomas, Durand, and Scotus. And while the Dominicans were still influential and one of the major commentaries of the period was authored by the Dominican John of St. Thomas (João Poinsot), professor in Alcalá, in this third period, the role of the Dominicans was definitely inferior to that of the Jesuits. By the turn of the century, Alcalá had also become a renowned center of commentary production, as the cases of Gabriel Vázquez, the Cistercian Pedro de Lorca, and the secular Luis Montesinos illustrate. Spain remained a key region for the commentary tradition, though at this point it had more to do with the Spanish Jesuits, who produced some of the most influential commentaries (read outside Iberia) of this period: Pedro Hurtado de Mendoza, Agustín de Herrera, Diego Granado, Diego Ruiz de Montoya, Juan de Lugo, and Antonio Pérez (the last two also active at the Roman College). The importance of Spain in this period also relates to another factor: as the degree of academic mobility remained high, many scholars started off teaching in Spain and went on to pursue their careers abroad, in this way contributing to the

transmission of ideas. The cases of the Jesuits who went from Spain and Portugal to lecture at the Roman College, and of Gregory of Valencia, who went to Dillingen and Ingolstadt, and Arriaga, who taught in Prague, are perhaps the most well-known cases. But many others scholars are also worthy of note, and exiled Catholic Irishmen and Britons played a definite part in this transmission of ideas, either because they studied in Spain and went on to teach in other parts of Europe or because they taught in the numerous Irish, Scot, and English colleges across continental Europe, from Lisbon to Rome, from Salamanca to Paris and Louvain.65 Moreover, apart from the Roman College, other colleges attracted foreign scholars, the Dominican convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva being an exemplary case.

As the publication of commentaries on the Summa Theologiae increased in the 1580s (in Salamanca) and in 1590s (thanks to the Jesuits), the circulation of manuscripts containing commentaries started to dwindle. On the Iberian Peninsula, but also in France and among the German Jesuit Colleges, commentaries produced between the 1580s and the 1610s still circulated in manuscript form, but this almost came to a complete halt around 1615. The University of Coimbra is a case in point, for its library still conserves manuscripts of Salamancan commentaries produced at the turn of the century that never made it to print or were printed at a later date. Commentaries transmitted only in manuscript form continued to be read, on occasion quoted, and sometimes even discussed, but as time went on, especially after the first two decades of the 17th century, this became a residual practice.

In this period, numerous commentaries were produced all over Europe: from France to Central Europe, and from Italy to Germany. Thanks principally to the Jesuits, the Summa Theologiae was by then the text used in the chairs of scholastic theology, and, beyond the Dominicans and the Jesuits, other religious orders embraced the teaching of theology based on the Summa Theologiae (see later in this introduction). The success enjoyed by the Summa Theologiae was overwhelming, albeit not equally everywhere. Despite its extensive use in teaching, important late scholastic authors did not produce commentaries and preferred instead other literary forms for their works—this is evident in German Catholic universities, where only a minority composed commentaries on the Summa Theologiae. At a time when Catholic theologians sought to intervene in their political and social realities and publicly dispute with Protestants, a commentary on the Summa Theologiae was probably perceived as a straitjacket. This might explain why Bellarmine never published his Louvain lectures on the Summa Theologiae and opted instead to work on his Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei adversus huius temporis haereticos (1586-89).

This third period somewhat represents a break with the second period. Because the greater part of commentaries produced in the University of Salamanca, in the first Jesuit universities, and in some other universities during the second period remained unpublished, the commentators of this third period hardly ever quote commentaries from the second period of the commentary tradition. This is not to suggest that there is no continuity whatsoever. Bartolomé de Medina's commentaries on the I-II and III are telling in this regard: they were published in 1578 and 1584 and therefore were available to later authors. However, as Medina himself avows in the prologue to his commentary on Summa Theologiae I-II, he made use of manuscripts containing lectures of Salamancan professors who preceded him, and indeed many of Medina's lines of reasoning are taken from previous commentators. What is more, at the beginning of their discussion of articles of the Summa Theologiae, commentators such as Suárez and Vázquez often mention a set of scholastic authors (sometimes more than ten) that constitute the opinio communis about the topic at hand; however, the greater part of those authors were already quoted in the same form, i.e. as a group, by the Salamancan commentators.

While previous commentators are almost never quoted—Cajetan being the main exception—the commentators of the third period engaged much more than their predecessors in arguments with their contemporary commentators. In the second period, given the reduced number of places where the Summa Theologiae was used, authors did not explicitly disagree with other commentators, or if they did, it usually involved Cajetan. For instance, very rarely did a Salamancan commentator criticize other commentators, since it implied a criticism of a fellow professor within the same faculty. By contrast, the third period is marked by harsh criticism of other commentators, even within members of the same religious order—the Jesuits being the most salient example.

The sheer number of universities using the Summa Theologiae in the third period meant that there was a greater variety of approaches to the texts commented on; this also increased the likelihood of encountering specific local readings of the Summa Theologiae. Sven Knebel highlighted the role of two commentators in the Jesuit College of Seville— Diego Ruiz de Montoya and Diego Granado—in the development of the idea of 'the best of all possible worlds'. And we can also mention the distinctive approach of the commentaries produced in Louvain: scholastic theology there had been down-played during the 16th century in favor of Augustine's works. This is reflected in the commentaries by Jan van Malderen, Johannes Wiggers, and Guillaume Merchier, in which Augustine and the Fathers of the Church are extensively mentioned and the scholastic commentators ignored. And in another work related to Louvain, namely Lessius' De iustitia et iure, the references to scholastic authors are much less frequent than in Molina's De iustitia et iure.74 A further relevant case might be the College of Sorbonne, since there the three professors lecturing on the Summa Theologiae in the early 17th century were seculars, which stands in stark contrast to all the other places it was used, for at the Sorbonne the lectures were undertaken by seculars and not by Jesuits or Dominicans.

Finally, this period is marked by great controversies, the most significant being the De auxiliis controversy. Although this controversy originated outside the commentary tradition, it was eventually integrated into it. As the commentaries more and more emancipated themselves from the Summa Theologiae, it is not surprising that the discussion of topics eventually exceeds its confines. An example suffices to give us an idea of the evolution of the commentaries and their emancipation from the Summa Theologiae: while Soto's De iustitia et iure—though not presented as a commentary—followed by and large the order of questions and articles of the Summa Theologiae, Molina's De iustitia et iure, published nearly half a century later, bears little resemblance to the Summa Theologiae. It is worth noting that Molina, by the end of the 16th century, was complaining about the inadequacy of Aquinas' De iustitia et iure because of the lack of topics treated. In this third period, the commentaries also became quite lengthy—sometimes a commentary covers just one section of the Summa Theologiae, like De fide, or De legibus, and so on.

The fourth and final period of the commentary tradition begins in the mid-17th century and extends to the end of the 18th century—it coincides thus with the end of Scholasticism.77 Commentaries, whose relation to the text of the Summa Theologiae was rather nominal, continued to be produced, sometimes in multi-volume editions and tended to treat the entire Summa Theologiae. Rodrigo de Arriaga's Disputationes theologicae (1643-55; 8 vols.) initiated just such a trend. He was followed by among others Thomas Compton Carleton (1659-62; 2 vols.); Augustine Gibbon Burke (1669-79, 7 vols.);78 Pedro de Godoy (1686; 3 vols.); Augustin Reding von Biberegg (1687; 13 vols.); Bonifacio Maria Grandi (1692-97; 3 vols.); Giovanni Claudio Pozzobonelli (1703-8; 4 vols.); Vincenzo Ludovico Gotti (1727-35; 16 vols.); and Charles René Billuart (1746-51; 6 vols.). While the former four were still used by later authors, the latter two are just archaic products that owe more to previous times—Gott i earned his doctorate in Salamanca, and Billuart still makes abundant use of Cajetan, Soto, Báñez, and Spanish Jesuit authors. In this period the number and impact of the commentaries

completely diminished beyond the strict field of convents and faculties of theology. In many cases, instead of a genuine commentary, the works produced in this period bear the words iuxta ordinem Thomae in their titles and are rather a presentation of Aquinas' doctrine. The reference to the Summa Theologiae occasionally appears in titles of works, but such works are rather Disputationes and Cursus theologici, which hold only a loose connection to the Summa Theologiae, e.g. the Cursus theologicus of the Jesuit Mart ín de Esparza y Artieda. The Cursus are often collective initiatives and related to a local university or convent, the Collegium Salmanticense being the most famous.80 However, many lectures on the Summa Theologiae stemming from classes in seminaries and faculties of theology have survived, though only in manuscript form, as they were not intended to be published and read outside the classroom. This was primarily the case in Southern Europe and in the colonial Spanish Empire. <>

THE LIGHT THAT BINDS: A STUDY IN THOMAS AQUINAS'S METAPHYSICS OF NATURAL LAW by Stephen L. Brock [Pickwick Publications, 9781532647291]

If there is any one author in the history of moral thought who has come to be associated with the idea of natural law, it is Saint Thomas Aquinas. Many things have been written about Aquinas's natural law teaching, and from many different perspectives. The aim of this book is to help see it from his own perspective. That is why the focus is metaphysical. Aquinas's whole moral doctrine is laden with metaphysics, and his natural law teaching especially so, because it is all about first principles. The book centers on how Aquinas thinks the first principles of practical reason, which for him are what make up natural law, function as laws. It is a controversial question, and the book engages a variety of readers of Aquinas, including Francisco Suárez, Jacques Maritain, prominent analytical philosophers, Straussians, and the initiators of the New Natural Law theory. Among the issues addressed are the relation between natural law and natural inclination, how far natural law depends on knowledge of human nature, what its obligatory force consists in, and, above all, how it is related to what for Aquinas is the first principle of all being, the divine will.

CONTENTS

Excerpt: "The law of nature," declares Saint Thomas, "is nothing other than the light of the intellect instilled in us by God, through which we know what is to be done and what is to be avoided." Of course, it is not a physical light. "As it pertains to intellect, light is nothing other than a certain manifestation of truth." In his more technical moments, Thomas will distinguish a little between the

mind's light and natural law, the law being a set of truths, and the light being what manifests them and lets us understand them. But once lit up, the truths are also a light, showing us a path to follow. In some sense they even oblige us, bind us, to that path. Natural law is a light that binds.

The question running through the following pages is how exactly it is, for Aquinas, that the truths of natural law constitute a genuine law and carry real binding force. I shall motivate the question and survey various answers that it has received in chapter 1. There I shall also explain the plan of the rest. Here I would like to say something about my subtitle.

By far the bulk of Thomas's writing on natural law is found in his masterpiece, the Summa theologiae. So situated, it is obviously a theological teaching. I hope that I have kept its theological character sufficiently in view. Nevertheless, as with many of the topics presented in the Summa, its treatment of natural law involves very heavy use of philosophical sources and arguments. This is hardly surprising, if indeed natural law itself is a work of the human mind's natural light. For that is also philosophy's proper light. I see no need to apologize for wanting to concentrate on Thomas's philosophy of natural law.

Philosophy, though, has many parts. The truths of natural law, Thomas tells us, constitute the first principles of practical reason. The practical part of philosophy is moral philosophy or ethics. Metaphysics, by contrast, is speculative or theoretical, not practical. What has metaphysics got to do with natural law?

The truths of natural law are certainly not, for Thomas, the first principles of metaphysics itself. The field of metaphysics is all of reality, being itself, and its own principles are more far-reaching, and even more basic, than those that bear only on human conduct. Of course human conduct is a being too—it exists—and so its principles do somehow fall within the metaphysical purview. The metaphysician can speculate about anything. But the study of human conduct in light of the truths of natural law, both in its matter and in its purpose, is surely a practical undertaking. By that very fact, natural law pertains to moral philosophy.

It is one thing, however, to study a field in light of its principles. It is another thing to study the principles themselves. In Thomas's conception of philosophy, studying the principles of any field whatever is a metaphysical task. Every other part of philosophy takes the principles of its field for granted and seeks only to draw out the implications from them that make for full mastery of that field. Moral philosophy draws practical conclusions from the principles of natural law. But the fundamental treatment of all first principles, both those of metaphysics itself and those of the other parts of philosophy, whether speculative or practical, belongs to metaphysics. The mere fact that the principles are really principles and not conclusions—the fact that they do not need to be demonstrated, in light of other principles— does not preclude such treatment. For instance, the principles still need to be identified. The terms comprising them need to be clarified so as to achieve and to judge the precise formulations of them. And doubts or difficulties about them can arise and need to be resolved. These are metaphysical exercises.

Moreover, if metaphysics has one primary task, it is to trace all the fields of philosophy and all of their principles back to the very first explanations or causes of all reality and all truth. This is metaphysics in its character as wisdom. And among the various kinds of cause that Thomas recognizes, the dominant one—the one that explains the others—is the final cause, the end, that for the sake of which the others function as they do. Every final cause or end is some sort of good. Indeed the notion of the good is itself something metaphysical, "among the firsts." And the absolutely ultimate end is the supreme good, which is God. Every other end and good is for the sake of His good. All of this gives metaphysics an obvious affinity with theology, and also a special bearing

on natural law. For natural law rests entirely on the notion of the good, and the whole point of natural law is to provide us with our first guidance toward our own ultimate end. Within philosophy, the final word on man's end belongs to metaphysics, not ethics. This is why Thomas can even say that metaphysics regulates all human activities, all of them being ordered to that end. Practical thinking does not determine the end itself, but only assumes it and disposes the things that are for its sake.

But perhaps most importantly, at least as far as this book is concerned, the very question of how Thomas thinks natural law constitutes a law is closely tied to the question of his view of its relation to God. In a sense, the whole book is an attempt to determine the meaning and drift of his famous description of natural law as "nothing other than a participation of the eternal law in the rational creature." The eternal law is God's law. If only for this reason, the perspective cannot but be heavily metaphysical.

Let me stress, however, that this is only a study "in" Aquinas's metaphysics of natural law. I make no pretense of exhausting the matter. Much more could be said, for example, about his metaphysics of the good and the bad.

Some features of the book may make more sense to the reader if something is said about its rather protracted gestation. Three decades ago I defended a dissertation in Medieval Studies at the University of Toronto on "The Legal Character of Natural Law according to St Thomas Aquinas," under the direction of the late James P. Reilly. Wisely—he was a very practical man—Dr. Reilly advised me to follow the fairly common practice of Toronto medievalists and not to try at once to turn the dissertation into a book. Luckily I took the advice. Over the years the thing did spawn a few articles, and those, together with the degree, seemed to constitute a satisfactory yield. Lately, however, I have been encouraged to publish it after all. I dusted it off, and (for better or worse) I found myself still in substantial agreement with it. Having recently worked with Wipf and Stock and been very happy with both the process and the result, I proposed it to them, and they kindly accepted.

Originally I thought that, beyond putting the material in book form, little more would be needed. The more I got back into it, however, the more I realized that my understanding of Aquinas's natural law teaching had actually evolved somewhat. An overhaul was called for. This showed the wisdom of Dr. Reilly's advice, and I regret that it is now too late to thank him.

The result has not been a complete transformation. The overall structure, the position that I take on the study's fundamental question, and most of the lines of argument, are the same. The changes are least in the first two chapters. Readers may notice that most of the scholarly literature surveyed in chapter 1 already existed when I wrote the dissertation. I think that the older literature is still interesting and that it does cover the main positions that can be taken on my question. At least, no significantly new position has come to my attention, and the chief purpose of the survey is simply to present the issues that I think need to be addressed. There are more references to subsequent publications in the later chapters. But this is not, after all, another dissertation, and it is quite long enough as it is.

Just in case anyone actually did see the dissertation, the main philosophical developments (if that is what they are) appear in what are now the third, sixth, and last chapters. Those in the third mostly regard the way in which the precepts of natural law can be seen as effects of the divine will and the divine command ordering all things toward the divine common good. This may be the book's philosophically most important moment, and I return to it in the last chapter. The last chapter also calls attention to what Thomas calls natural law "absolutely considered," which is a notion that had

not previously struck me, and the chapter ends with a thought that came to me only recently about the relation between natural law and Thomas's definition of law in general. The chief development in the sixth chapter, vis-à-vis the dissertation, is a substantially different account of the general nature of obligation. As for the fourth and fifth chapters, they were originally one, of fewer pages; the division into two represents not so much a change in the views advanced as a desire to bolster the arguments, these being perhaps, in the current scholarly scene, the book's most contentious ones.

I hope it is clear that this is a historical study. I wish only to offer a tolerably accurate reading of Thomas on natural law. I am not proposing a natural law theory of my own, even a "Thomistic" one. There are several such theories out there that are quite worthy of study. Some of them I have engaged elsewhere. But here I try not to stray too far from Aquinas's texts. Perhaps this will account for at least some of the omissions, or near omissions, that some readers may otherwise find glaring.

As for Aquinas's texts themselves, for the most part I have not included the Latin originals. This is mainly in consideration of space and of their being so easily accessible nowadays, thanks especially to Enrique Alarcón's marvelous "Corpus Thomisticum" website. Unless otherwise indicated, translations in the book are mine. <>

Classifying Christians: Ethnography, Heresiology, and the Limits of Knowledge in Late Antiquity by Todd S. Berzon [University of California Press, 9780520284265]

Classifying Christians investigates late antique Christian heresiologies as ethnographies that catalogued and detailed the origins, rituals, doctrines, and customs of the heretics in explicitly polemical and theological terms. Oscillating between ancient ethnographic evidence and contemporary ethnographic writing, Todd S. Berzon argues that late antique heresiology shares an underlying logic with classical ethnography in the ancient Mediterranean world. By providing an account of heresiological writing from the second to fifth century, **Classifying Christians** embeds heresiology within the historical development of imperial forms of knowledge that have shaped western culture from antiquity to the present.

Review

"Berzon's book offers a potent epistemological reflection on the production, organization, and limits of knowledge in late antiquity... a finely articulated meditation on the effects of theological and ethnographic ancient list-making." — *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*

"**Classifying Christians** is a remarkable book... indispensable." — *Reading Religion*

"Todd S. Berzon's **Classifying Christians: Ethnography, Heresiology, and the Limits of Knowledge in Late Antiquity** partakes of these rich conversations by offering a sustained and convincing reflection on the adaptations, innovations, and antinomies of heresy-writing in the late ancient period." — *Ancient Jew Review*

"**Classifying Christians** is a learned, wide-ranging, and exciting new study on ancient Christian heresiology... we look forward to Todd Berzon's next [volume]." — *Histos*

"This volume clears more space in our scholarly discourse for several topics which are only recently

starting to receive a fraction of the attention they deserve." — *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum*

"**Classifying Christians** is a splendid and challenging study, a must-read for scholars in the field of Late Antique theological polemics. . . . immersive and engaging while intellectually challenging at the same time." — *Augustiniana*

"**Classifying Christians** represents a crucial missing chapter in the larger history of Western discourse about itself and others. Too often, studies of heresiology understand and present it as a sui generis literature, a fascinating late-ancient 'oddity' that gets pitched to modern readers as an intriguing bauble. Todd Berzon's study is the first to make a convincing argument as to why anyone outside the narrow field of late ancient studies should care about heresiology."—Andrew Jacobs, Professor of Religious Studies and Mary W. and J. Stanley Johnson Professor of Humanities, Scripps College

"With **Classifying Christians**, Todd Berzon has produced an original, important, and impressive intellectual intervention in early Christian history, the history of social sciences, and critical theory of religion. This well-conceived, highly learned, and sophisticated analysis of the genre of heresiology will be required reading for scholars of antiquity."—Jeremy Schott, Associate Professor of Religious Studies, Indiana University, Bloomington

CONTENTS

We are always organizing knowledge. We are always aggregating data in order to arrive at a clearer, more coherent, and more systematic understanding of the world around us. But what happens when there is simply too much information to be collected? What happens when efforts to organize vast amounts of material fall short or fail completely? What happens when the knowledge we meticulously collect simply overwhelms the system or model designed to make sense of it? What are the epistemological implications and challenges that emerge in the production of ethnography—the process of writing about the customs and habits of peoples and communities? **Classifying Christians: Ethnography, Heresiology, and the Limits of Knowledge in Late Antiquity** investigates these questions within the context of late antique Christianity (ca. 150–500 C.E.). It provides an analysis of the ways in which early Christian authors not only produced ethnography (literally "wrote people") but they also how they openly negotiated the very possibility and desire of undertaking such a task. Focusing on late antique heresiological literature (orthodox catalogues about heretics), I outline the techniques Christian writers used to collect, organize, and polemicize ethnographic knowledge about their Christian world. I show how the rituals, doctrinal beliefs, customs, and historical origins of the heretics functioned to map and delimit not only the

composition of the Christian world but also the world at large. It is the epistemological challenges produced by such classificatory efforts that I explore throughout the book.

In the late antique world defined by remarkable religious and political change, heresiology illustrates the simultaneous attraction and repulsion of discovery and exploration. But just as Christians wrote their movement into the history of the world as *the* organizing principle of human difference through models of heretical growth and diffusion, they also codified a deep ambivalence about the literary or representative capacity of heresiological ethnography. I argue that heretics were highly unstable theoretical scaffolding through which Christian authors sought to make sense of the diverse and diversifying world around them. Knowledge about the heretics was necessary to assert orthodox theological dominance, but it was also highly dangerous. Heretical knowledge not only contaminated the ethnographer, but it also confused and in some sense overpowered the compiler because such knowledge was seemingly without limit. There was simply no end to the process of collecting knowledge about the heretics.

Indeed, Christian ethnography reveals not totalizing aspirations of authority—a projected ideology of total epistemological mastery—but a far less secure knowledge about the heretics specifically and the world generally: writing and knowing were endeavors fraught with conceptual fears and uncertainties. In fact, Christian authors explicitly contemplated the danger of investigating the natural and supernatural worlds. It is not simply that they struggle to classify the world around them, but that they openly discuss their failures to do just that. The heresiologists explicitly pondered the epistemological limits of ethnographic investigation, the representative capacity of language, and the unmanageability of ethnographic knowledge in texts. They know that there are limitations to what they can know about the heretics and that their efforts to produce a literary model to contain them is and always will be incomplete.

Discovery, travel, and expansion were not singularly triumphant endeavors, but rather highly perilous and disruptive efforts. The discoveries of new peoples (heretics, nations, islands, etc.) cemented intellectual unease and ethnographic fear. Precisely because the heresiologists gave ethnography into a distinctly theological texture, **Classifying Christians** points toward the enduring and potent legacy of Christianity in shaping the discourse of centuries of ethnographic investigation. By investigating the role ethnography played in mapping the theological landscape of the late antique world, my aim has been to refine discussions of emergent Christian discourses about heresy and human difference more broadly.

Excerpt: Writing People, Writing Religion

> A survey of our globe shows the continents inhabited by a great diversity of peoples different in appearance, different in language and in cultural life. The Europeans and their descendants on other continents are united by similarity of bodily build, and their civilization sets them off sharply against all the people of different appearance. The Chinese, the native New Zealander, the African Negro, the American Indian present not only distinctive bodily features, but each possesses also his own peculiar mode of life. Each human type seems to have its own inventions, its own customs and beliefs, and it is very generally assumed that race and culture must be intimately associated, that racial descent determines cultural life. —Franz Boas

The opening of Franz Boas's watershed anthropological text, **The Mind of Primitive Man**, describes the long-held theory that "primitive" was both a racial and a cultural designation.1 Insofar as the latter was a derivation of the former, racial typology served as the foundation for hierarchical classifications of culture. The modes of life that ethnographers, missionaries, and travel writers had described were reflections of racial differences, where race, as a hereditary biological unit, was governed by phenotype, aptitude, and anatomy. Over the next almost three hundred pages, Boas

sharply contests this supposed correlation between race, culture, and civilization. In arguing that "there is no necessary relationship between the 'race,' the language, and the cultural forms and expressions of a people," Boas imagined "cultures transcending racial classifications, and racial groups crossing cultural boundaries." Boas's major contribution to the history of anthropology was to combat the science of racism and eugenics, to reject not only the idea of race as a biological category but also the very idea of evolutionist ethnology. He was emphatic that human beings were ultimately "subjugated to the tyranny of customs" and that those customs—many of which we were barely even aware of—were the foundations of culture. But it was only at the end of Boas's lengthy career that he actually proffered a coherent definition of culture. And in fact, it was his students—Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Edward Sapir, Robert Lowie, Alfred Kroeber, among others—who have been credited with defining culture "as a complex set of life ways of a given group of people."

Boas's contributions to the development of professional anthropology and critical ethnography, combatting the cultural prejudices of his Victorian predecessors, the biblicism of ethnologists, and the overt racism of eugenicists, is part of a long, complex, and diverse intellectual genealogy.6 The intense preoccupation with the roots and causes of human difference was a fixture of centuries of critical and uncritical ethnographic writing alike. The unspoken counter term of much of Boas's argument, implied by his persistent use of the term "Europeans," is Christianity, the dominant ideological framework for centuries of ethnographic representation, ethnological theorization, and cultural hierarchization. As the anthropologist Kenelm Burridge has noted,

> Through the Bible and its interpreters all kinds of different European communities were brought onto common ground, came into contact with, and knew, the word of God as it was expressed in the myths, history, figures, and customs and activities of a strange non-European people. . . . It was through the variety of images of other kinds of man that European peoples were invited to seek the dimensions and mystery of God and of themselves.

Christian theology—and a belief in the fundamental unity of the human species—was the foundation of European ethnology and ethnography. In that sense, Boas was seeking to overhaul both an ethnocentric and a theological anthropology. Tomoko Masuzawa, David Livingstone, and George Stocking, Jr., among others, have emphasized that Christian writers—uncritical ethnographers, theologians, missionaries, philologists, and so forth—relied upon their own theological orthodoxy to elaborate the contours of racial, cultural, religious, and geographical differences. Comparative philology, ethnography, and theology were all part and parcel of the discourse of world religions and of religion itself. The intersection of these disciplines constructed a scientific scheme of religious classification: "Religion," as Masuzawa puts it, "offered European scholars a powerful, far-reaching, and comprehensive categorical framework by virtue of which they could hope to explain the characteristic features of a given non-European society."

Shrouded in the language of evolution and devolution, the science of religion was guided by the comparison of ethnographic and hermeneutical data. The organization and analysis of these data created taxonomies of religions and provided verifiable models of religious and ethnological difference and behavior. Uncritical ethnography was as much about theology as about customs, habits, and dispositions. Early modern ethnological theories—theories about the causes and nature of human difference—took Genesis as their starting point and, indeed, as their end point. Although the authors of Genesis had enumerated an explicit correspondence between nations and languages (and perhaps also cultures), their narratives were hardly comprehensive. As the historian Colin Kidd observes:

> Of course, Old Testament anthropology runs into the sand. There is a huge gap—or perhaps not so huge, depending upon one's scheme of chronology—between the facts of

> ethnicity set out in Genesis and the appearance of ethnic groups in the historical and ethnographic works of Greece and Rome. From which of Noah's sons came the Scythians, say? A great deal of early modern anthropology involved the reconstitution of the lineages of peoples between the petering out of scriptural ethnography and the start of the classical record.

Early modern anthropologists sought to manage, to borrow Stocking's phrase, the "ethnological problem" of monogenism: they sought to demonstrate the fundamental unity of the human species and the transmission of original sin despite evidence to the contrary. The work of Christian ethnographers and theologians was thus to fill in the gaps of the biblical narrative and to maintain its ethnological integrity. In certain cases, however, ethnological theories that were said to undermine the integrity of the biblical narrative led to accusations of heresy. The arch-heresiarch, so to speak, of Christian anthropology was Isaac La Peyrère (1596–1676), who had argued in his *Prae-Adamitae* (Men before Adam, published in Latin in 1655) that a careful reading of Romans 5.12–14—Paul's discussion of sin, law, Adam, and Moses—indicated that there were human beings before Adam. La Peyrère, though a Calvinist, was brought before Pope Alexander VII to answer for his heresy, after which he recanted but remained subject to intense opprobrium from scores of theologians and ethnologists. By 1656, according to Anthony Grafton, there were already nineteen published refutations of his treatise.

With the accusation of heresy swirling, debates over ethnological theories illustrated the centrality of orthodox thinking to questions of human difference. The language of heresy was not only an accusation to be hurled against blasphemous ideas or interpretations—a charge by clerics—but was itself an important theological force in the history of both human and religious diversity. The development of a hierarchy of culture and nations as a hierarchy of religion follows not only from biblical interpretation but also from the development of the Christian discourse of heresy. Whereas it is true, as Kidd notes, that the narrative of Genesis 11 did not offer a comprehensive genealogy of all peoples everywhere, the New Testament supplied an important conceptual addendum: it laid the foundation for the Christian discourse of heresy, which would, over time, supplement the narrative gaps of Genesis 11 while also creating its own problematic narrative of theological diversity. A central piece in the foundations of theological anthropology belongs, then, to a much earlier set of debates, theories, and writings: the discourse of early Christian ethnography.

For those who study the ancient world, ethnography is an absorbing yet elusive subject. In contrast to the modern concept, which denotes both the practice of fieldwork and a genre of writing, there were no established methods or a fixed generic form in the ancient Mediterranean world. Few ancient authors undertook anything approximating modern fieldwork. Greeks and Romans—from Homer to Pliny, and Herodotus to Tacitus—did write profusely about foreign dress, myths, dietary habits, histories, cosmologies, and religious customs. But they "wrote peoples" (ethno-graphy) primarily as a counterpoint, both positive and negative, to their own cultural conventions. Building upon the work of classicists, scholars of religion, anthropologists, and literary critics, this book posits that ancient ethnography, specifically Christian ethnography, attests a complex set of negotiations between attempts to understand the surrounding world by inventorying its people, explaining their history and origins, and by establishing a position within it. Ethnography in the ancient world functioned descriptively, though tendentiously, through the chronicling, stylizing, and essentializing of human customs, communities, and institutions. It operated as a discursive activity in which people were created as textual objects with discrete and precise characteristics, origins, histories, and customs. While ethnographers moved to study the changing world—not only to orient themselves within their evolving social and cultural surroundings but also to articulate the terms of these changes from their own cultural perspective—they supplied a certain fixity and predictability to the diversity of people the macroscopic, broader extrapolations about human nature, human diversity,

and human behavior. To that end, I focus on the paradigms and techniques that the late antique Christian heresiologists used to array, historicize, and characterize Christian ethnographic knowledge. The heretics were invaluable yet highly unstable theoretical playthings through which Christian authors navigated and systematized the diversity of the entire human world. The heresiologists used the heretics not only to define the borders of Christianity but also to create the Christian conditions for understanding the contents and diversity of the world. As the Christian ethnographic gaze contemplated the differences of the peoples of the world, the Christian turn toward ethnography signaled not just ethnography by Christians but also ethnography of Christians. In so doing, this ethnographic discourse, at once aspirational and polemical, constructed the boundaries of late antique Christianity itself.

The expansive gaze of Christian authors and travelers infused their writings with ethnographical and geographical maps of piety and impiety, religion and irreligion: to travel in the world in texts was to construct Christianity, to deny expressions of Christianity, and to envision the potential for Christianity everywhere. The Christian narrative of sacred history encompassed the elaboration, both macroscopically and microscopically, of holy topographies and hallowed ethnographies. To watch the world become Christian—to see it materialize with respect to both place and people—was to watch the promise of scripture unfold. And to capture this transformation was to blend Christian missionary activity and ethnographic writing. Ethnography conveyed an ideology "employed by Christians to tell themselves a new story of religious Empire." Heresiological literature is thus deeply embedded in larger corpora of varying genres. In writing about the world they inhabited, their relationship to it, and their interpretation of it, Christian writers infused various genres of writing, including letters, sermons, commentaries, travelogues, monastic handbooks, and hagiographies, with an awareness of macroscopic paradigms and microscopic description. This study is, then, not meant to be exhaustive but rather aims to focus in on a particular textual endeavor, heresiology, that is simultaneously rhetorical, theological, geographic, ethnographic, and epistemological.

As the heresiologists investigated the diversity of Christian sectarianism across the Mediterranean, they produced a textual world and worldview driven by the comparison of theologies and dispositions. To the extent that heresiological writers functioned as ethnographers, whether armchair or fieldworker, they did more than simply regurgitate stereotypes, provide moral warnings, and convey imperial propaganda. My focus is on heresiology as an illustration of Christian classification and organization of knowledge. I explore how Christian authors framed their texts ethnographically by amassing data, marshaling their discoveries, fashioning explanatory models, and theologizing and negotiating their own authorial abilities. The process of organizing knowledge by writing people constructed categorical and discursive binaries. Heresiologies identified the similarities and differences among Christians by creating a categorical framework, even if just discursive, within which to house them. Within the context of late antiquity, Jeremy Schott has rightly emphasized how theories of knowledge, classification, and their generic forms were written in conjunction with imperial ideologies:

> Universal history, ethnography, and figurative reading strategies—the tools of philosophers and apologists alike—owed much of their shape to the specific political context in which they were practiced. The leverage of these universalizing discourses lay not in "pluralism" or "inclusivity," as sometimes has been suggested; rather, the political potency of universalism resided in its simultaneous demand for comprehensiveness and difference. The distinction between universality and particularity that grounded these intellectual discourses closely paralleled the asymmetrical relationship of courses of social privilege and social control. Ethnography and universal history sought a comprehension of diversity homologous to the imperial desire for control of diverse territories and peoples.

Even as Schott stresses that the classification of knowledge worked in tandem with a larger imperial discourse of control, he foregrounds the tensions embedded within ethnographic theorization: writers were compelled to emphasize coherence and difference simultaneously. Indeed, the heresiologists are remarkably ambivalent about their discourse as a mechanism of comprehensiveness and control. In thinking about heresiology as an expression of Christian ethnography, I want to ask how its authors negotiated the push and pull of coherence and difference; how they worked to distill and essentialize heretics as communities that were both macroscopically similar and yet microscopically different from each other; and how they thought about and went about translating peoples into words. Finally, I wish to investigate how the writing and the editing processes imposed not only a self-reflexivity but also an epistemological paradox upon the heresiologists, in which the capacity to make and know the world of Christianity and the architect of the world of Christianity became fleeting possibilities.

One of the central claims of this project is that even as heresiological ethnography built a discourse of control and expertise, that very same discourse communicated the constraints of the heresiologists' knowledge about their object of study. As Christopher Herbert has incisively shown within the context of Victorian ethnography, the discourses of ethnographic totalization and restraint were, in fact, bound together as epistemological and investigative contradictions. The heresiologists' claims of totalizing knowledge were undercut by their open acknowledgment of the conceptual and practical fissures within their texts: the heresiologists could not know any one heresy fully or know all the heretics in their entirety. Augustine's explication of this conceptual fissure in the edifice of his heresiology signaled his perception of the restricted epistemological reach of the ethnographic gaze and the ethnographic word. Augustine acknowledged that the theological distance and cultural gap between heresiologist and heresy precluded his ability to understand the heretics fully. Not only were there limits to what the heresiologists could know, but there were conceptual limits to how knowledge could be meaningfully processed. In expressing the discourse of totalization as aspirational rather than realized, the heresiologists emphasized their labor as collectors over and above their ability to find and enumerate a comprehensive whole of heresy. I am not arguing that the heresiologists, by demonstrating their detailed knowledge of and ability to refute the heretics, amassed for themselves some vague notion of scholastic or ecclesiastical authority. Instead, I am claiming that the heresiologists' stated understanding of the heretics cut in precisely the opposite direction. Heresiologies were not texts of control and totalization but catalogues marked by vulnerability, hazard, and fissure. Even as polemically constructed caricatures, the heretics proved an enigmatic, elusive, and altogether destructive object of inquiry. To think with and through ethnography is to invite a scrutiny not simply of another or even oneself but to contemplate openly about the representative capacity of writers, language, and their texts. Ethnography encapsulates the tension between totality and partiality, comprehension and ignorance, and the insurmountable gap between human nature and the natural world. Ethnographic data hold the potential to inspire as much as puzzle and to fracture as much as unify. As Irenaeus succinctly put it, "it is not possible to name the number of those who have fallen away from the truth in various ways." The overarching aim of this study, then, is to trace how the ethnographic impulse, embedded within certain strands of early Christian discourse, informed theorizations of religious diversity and the classification of religious knowledge.

How To Read Heresiology

Because the terms of early Christian devotion and tradition were developing and diverse, the history of formative Christianity evidences both the rhetorical and the institutional efforts by which boundaries between sects were constructed. Heresiology was an effort by particular members of the still nascent Christian community to elaborate claims of tradition by specifying the terms of Christian

principles, practices, and theology. As Christians spread themselves across the Mediterranean preaching the good news of Christ, and as peoples assumed the mantle of Christian identification in different ways and in different environments, theological and ecclesiastical diversity became increasingly endemic to Christian culture. With the number of Christians multiplying across the Mediterranean, disputes over the finer points of theological doctrine, ecclesiastical governance, exegesis, ritual observation, and canonical inclusion naturally followed. With each new church, the purported unanimity of the Christian movement was subjected to new threats of fissure and dissolution. Paul himself, as his epistles clearly demonstrate, struggled to maintain order among the communities that he visited and to which he wrote. Communities forgot, disputed, or ignored his instructions about Christ's Gospel. His First Letter to the Corinthians famously chastises them for their division and disunity:

> Now I appeal to you, brothers and sisters, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ that there be no divisions among you, but that you be united in the same mind and the same purpose. For it has been reported to me . . . that there are quarrels among you, my brothers and sisters. What I mean is that each of you says, "I belong to Paul," or "I belong to Apollos," or "I belong to Cephas," or "I belong to Christ." Has Christ been divided?

Early divisions among followers of Jesus were sown in overtly human terms: divisions were facilitated by allegiances to human leaders (a charge the heresiologists repeatedly made). While scripture had rightly forewarned its believers about division, dissension, and false prophets—"Indeed, there have to be factions among you, for only so will it become clear who among you are genuine"—it did not elaborate a plenary understanding of its origins, essence, and history. While Simon Magus became the father of Christian heresy for the heresiologists, in the biblical narrative (Acts 8.9–24) he is not identified as such. He is a magician, first and foremost.

Just as early modern Christian ethnologists sought to fill in the gaps in the narrative of Genesis, early Christian heresiologists similarly worked to clarify in the Bible's broader warnings about sectarianism and disharmony. Nearly a century and a half after the death of the apostle Paul, Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, enumerated in the preface to his five-book refutation of heresies, Adversus haereses, the principal hazard of the heresy: it was unstable, erroneous, derivative, false, arrogant, and demonic. The heretics, Irenaeus warns, "believe differently about the same things as time passes and never have a stable doctrine, because they wish rather to be sophists of words than disciples of the truth." Via their addenda and excisions, the heretics were said to mutilate the revealed truth of Christ. Rather than simply allow the truth to be, so Irenaeus claims, they massage it, augment it, recast it, and ultimately threaten its untrammeled facilitation through generations of Christians. Irenaeus's discourse about the heretics hinged upon a series of rhetorical and dispositional distinctions. Considering themselves exponents of (an alternative) system of truth, the heretics craftily "speak the same language" as (orthodox) Christians, though they "intend different meanings." Their treachery, moreover, as Irenaeus diagnoses it, attests an underlying and more perilous condition: they persist and metastasize "under the pretense of knowledge." Their so-called knowledge—while revealing detailed cosmologies, alternative scriptures, a multiplicity of deities, the impetus of creation, the divisions within the soul, the process of redemption, and the metaphysical principles of the universe—imported a grandiose claim of privileged authority into their schematization of a cosmic narrative. In supplanting the primacy of the God of the Bible and his Word, the creative and enlightening powers behind the creation of the universe and the human race, the heretics embarked upon a massive restructuring of revealed truth. Reorienting the truths of the apostolic age not only complicated claims about the exclusive transmission of knowledge but also perpetuated an open and unfixed understanding of Christian tradition.

Scholars now regard Irenaeus's history of Christianity and Christian tradition, where truth always preceded falsity and heresy was conceptualized as an adulteration of a uniform, stable, continuous chain of tradition, as an ideological representation rather than a historical reality. Since the pioneering work of Walter Bauer, they have primarily treated the writings of the heresiologists as tendentious texts written to establish the narrative of a single, consistent orthodoxy over against derivative, corrupting heresy. The history of early Christianity, scholars now emphasize, was never a history of singularity and uniformity; rather it was a history of diversity, discord, and disunity. To attend to this multiplicity of Christian voices, scholars developed what David Brakke identifies as the "variety of Christianities" model, which maps Christian diversity and disagreement. According to this narrative, the earliest centuries of the Common Era were a time of intense competition among various Christian groups—including the so-called proto-orthodoxy faction that would ultimately win out—all of which claimed to be the embodiment of true Christianity. Brakke rightly criticizes the varieties model by emphasizing that it has tended to treat Christian diversity in rather static terms: it conceptualizes groups as discrete and bounded entities, perpetuating Irenaeus's idea that proto-orthodoxy was uniform and neatly delineated. In its place, Brakke argues for what he calls the "identity-formation" model. Building upon the work of Karen King, he emphasizes the scholarly shift that attends to "the strategies by which individuals and groups sought to define themselves. The historian does not take for granted the existence of defined groups, but instead interrogates how ancient peoples sought to create, transform, and challenge religious communities and practices." And while many scholars have embraced the identity-formation model—exploring how heresy was constructed in relation to issues of law, gender, celibacy, and prophecy, among myriad other themes—the genre of heresiology and heresiological catalogues in particular have remained largely absent from this interpretive shift.

In a provocative article entitled "How to Read Heresiology," the historian Averil Cameron raises a series of questions about the genre. She seeks to shift scholarly attention away from thinking about heresiologies as sources of information and suggests that we should read them instead as "performative or functional texts." Cameron contends that scholars have failed to comprehend the complexities within these texts, due in large part to the perception that Epiphanius's *Panarion*, in many ways the classic example of the genre, is an uninventive and hyperbolic text. Insofar as the *Panarion* reflected banal generalizations about the need to dispel error and articulate the topography of true Christianity, it was an uninspired, rote polemical dispute between two mutually exclusive yet dependent theological categories: orthodoxy and heresy. Heresiology, despite its encyclopedic aspirations, was mired as much by the simplicity of its own dichotomous worldview as by its perceived lack of "imaginative content." Scholars routinely assert that the heresiologies are tired screeds, largely devoid of sophistication and nuance. But according to Cameron, to dismiss "heresiology as sterile or boring, as mere scholastic exercises, therefore misses several points at the same time." Such a position fails to delve deeply into the details of these admittedly lengthy but surprisingly complex literary compositions.

Cameron contends that heresiology, shaped by "a poetics of [its] own," harbored a web of interrelated rhetorical, theological, political, ecclesiastical, and scholastic agendas. With respect to the Panarion, she notes that, "a less hostile view might be willing to recognize a degree of literary skill in the ways in which Epiphanius modelled the Panarion both on Song of Songs and on scientific treatises on snake bites and poisons." With its persistent use of the rhetoric of entomology, herpetology, and medicine, the Panarion presents itself as a work shaped by precision and the rhetoric of science. To that end, it explicitly engages with classical models, referencing at its outset Nicander's Theriaka—a poem enumerating venomous animals—and also contests classical literary tropes: "For the Greek authors, poets and chroniclers would invoke a Muse when they undertook some work of mythology. . . . I, however, am calling upon the holy Lord of all to come to the aid of

my poverty." Cameron is especially emphatic that heresiological literature should be read as part of a broader effort on the part of Christian elite to establish their own sociology of knowledge. Inasmuch as the Panarion "enshrines certain fundamentals about heresiological literature," it produced a broader heresiological discourse that bound together techniques of naming, differentiating, classifying, prescribing, refuting, and hierarchizing. It is worth considering why Augustine enumerated eighty-eight heretics, Filastrius one hundred fifty-six, Epiphanius eighty, Theodoret sixty-one, Irenaeus nineteen, and Hippolytus thirty-six, not only in relation to the shifting landscape of heresy—however real or imagined that landscape may have been—but also as reflections of editorial, structural, and ethnographic practices.58 Indeed, heresiology, as a generic chain of utterances, offered "a structured system of explanation" about the heretics that placed them at the center of theories and arguments about human difference, epistemology, scholasticism, hermeneutics, and pedagogy.

Taking up Cameron's various suggestions, my reading of heresiology does not explicitly focus on questions related to orthodox identity-formation or historical information about the heretics. Instead, it interprets heresiology as a genre that produced a culture and discourse of Christian knowledge—how it constructed Christianity as the repository of this knowledge and tradition—through the act of naming and describing people as heretics. Heresiology is a major literary site "in the formation of a Christian intellectual system." In elaborating even the most minute of heretical customs and doctrines—from baptismal rituals and intricate cosmologies to dietary habits and alternative scriptural interpretations—the heresiologists confront how the procession, production, and ordering of knowledge underscored and altered the very foundations of Christianity and the Christian world. The interplay between form and content requires particular attention precisely because the heresiologists presented their texts as updated, synchronous (with the times) accounts of the ever-changing state of the heretical world. By styling knowledge of the heretics as handbooks, universal histories, genealogies, dialogues, curatives, and so on, the heresiologists utilized various literary forms to articulate and adjust their theological ambitions and their theorization of heretical profusion. Heresiologies were not static, inert, uninventive screeds. Rather, I will argue that they were creative, if polemical, meditations on the dangers, values, and limits of knowledge.

The heresiologists specifically and repeatedly parsed the value of social and intellectual discourse, the very lifeblood of ethnography. They worried that cross-cultural contact unsettled their claims to exclusive truth. Discovering, let alone seeking, knowledge was not unproblematic. Christian inquiry and heresiological inquiry had their limits. But, as Edward Peters has emphasized, Christians were hardly the first to debate the merits of knowledge acquisition: "The debates concerning the validity of knowledge gained by travel and observation began in the ancient world with Homer and continued through Platonic and Stoic ethics and epistemology, the work of ethnographers and historians, Augustan political propagandists, and the romances of Alexander the Great." Curiosity, "the unseemly interest in acquiring knowledge," had enormous disruptive potential; it was an indication of an unbalanced self. The curious person was defined by uninhibited passions and desires. And he became, in Christian parlance, the epitome of heresy. To inquire about the wrong things and in the wrong way was the very core of the heretical disposition. For the heresiologists, however, there was a complementary and more dangerous fear. If the heretics were defined by epistemological hubris, a form of knowledge that subverted the singular authority of God, the act of investigating the heretics carried with it the fear that to know them was somehow to acquire the taint of heresy oneself. Guilt by association—the paradox of ethnographic intimacy—was both a rhetorical tactic that the heresiologists used to create chains of error and a problem that they confronted themselves in the very act of writing their texts. Their fear was that the need to missionize against heresies by writing about them would become the heresiologists' own undoing. The heresiologists worried not only that knowledge of the heretics would ultimately weaken their

own orthodoxy but also that even in attempting to identify and describe the heretics they actually legitimated their existence. Despite the fact that the heresiologists studied the heretics in order to destroy them, they nonetheless expressed anxiety about acquiring and preserving this knowledge. The heresiologists devised and ordered a Christian epistemological system that thrust two competing realities into contention: knowledge of the heretical world and the rejection of that knowledge. The entire heresiological apparatus ensnared its authors in the throes of a paradoxical project: "How can a Christian [heresiologist] justify laboring to preserve in minute detail the memory of a satanically inspired system of degradation and evil?"

Mapping Christianity: Heresiology, History, And Sectarianism

In Tomoko Masuzawa's narrative of *The Invention of World Religions*, Victorian anthropologists were one of two primary investigators and collectors of the customs of various non-Christian religions scattered beyond Europe. Masuzawa lists a few of their myriad ethnographic interests: natural religion, myths, rituals, cosmologies, metaphysical systems, and doctrines. They sought, in turn, to translate these habits and rituals, religious particulars, into coherent religious systems governed by transhistorical principles, religious universals. Anthropologists and Orientalists, the other primary investigators of non-Western religions, became the academics most devoted to the study of non-European, nonmodern peoples, especially their religions or superstitions, or both, as a direct result of shifting European attitudes toward the notion of religious society. As European society presented itself as guided by logic and rationalism, it perceived the rest of the world to be in the grip of supernatural forces. The social sciences—political science, economics, and sociology—had emerged in the early nineteenth century as the academic-scientific site for the study of the human and social structures of modern European society. Making sense of the rest of the world beyond Europe would be the task of Orientalism and anthropology. While these armchair anthropologists conceptualized tribal religions as "expressions of some basic and natural human propensities and behaviors in the face of the mysterious and the superhuman," orientalists eschewed claims of a generic religious essence and instead identified oriental religion as possessing "a vast and powerful metaphysical system deeply ingrained in the social fabric of a particular nation, and in the psychical predilections of its individual citizens and subjects." The scholarly theorizations of both anthropologists and orientalists contributed to the nineteenth-century scholarly discourse that gave birth to our contemporary category of world religions.

As this taxonomic scheme took shape over the course of the nineteenth century, the hallmarks of religion—even with the rise of the *Religionswissenschaft* in the second half of the nineteenth century—were invariably parsed through the language and principles of Christianity. Inasmuch as Christianity was, in the words of the Rev. Robert Flint (1838–1910), "the only religion from which, and in relation to which, all other religions may be viewed in an impartial and truthful manner," its comparative value lay in its theological supremacy. For the academics that perpetuated this discourse, Christianity was the sine qua non of religiosity. The other religions of the world—the beliefs and practices attested by the rest— were not only expressed through the discourse of Christianity. They also reinforced, through their deviations, oddities, archaisms, and so forth, that Christianity remained atop the hierarchy of universal religions. The British physician James Cowles Prichard (1786–1848), the pioneer of nineteenth-century ethnology, the science of human races, adhered to a strict biblical anthropology, which treated Christianity as the governing principle of human history:

> Prichard believed that just as in the beginning all men were one, so had God in the beginning revealed to all men the one true religion. . . . His concern with civilization was not to trace its origins but to defend its foundations, and in defending both primitive revelation and

> human unity he was in fact defending the principle that all mankind had once been and were rightfully subject to a single ethical dispensation.

It was the comparative theologians and armchair anthropologists of the nineteenth century who asserted in volume after volume that the world was filled not with properly transcendent and transnational religions but instead with local, pseudo, or incomplete religions. Writers such as Prichard tried valiantly to ensure that the study of the world's other religions—compiled by travelers, missionaries, colonial administrators, and, in rare cases, scholars—not only served the interests of Christianity but also were compatible with Christian dogma and scripture. The title of Rev. Thomas Smyth's 1851 treatise, *The Unity of the Human Races Proved to Be the Doctrine of Scripture, Reason and Science*, proudly proclaims the theological perspective of Victorian ethnology. And yet biblical anthropology, the study of diversity within a single, unified species, was both supported and undermined through the collection of the customs, habits, and traditions of primitive peoples. The data of travelers, missionaries, and ethnographers seemed to overwhelm the biblical narrative. And projects designed to fill in the ethnological gaps in the biblical account often created a disunity of cultures, races, and religions even as they insisted upon the fundamental unity of humankind. That very effort, as Isaac La Peyrère discovered, could easily lead to accusations of heresy.

For ethnologists and ethnographers, the irony of hurling accusations of heresy was that heresy itself served as an invaluable tool in the elaboration of a scripturally based Christian account of human unity as religious unity. Heresy was, after all, a choice. While that choice may have been old and long since forgotten by the people who made it, the heresiologists, as the mouthpieces of a Christian orthodoxy, identified and railed against this process—this contentious choice—of religious degeneration. Heresy could also be easily mapped on to (and out of) other expressions of behavioral and habitual difference. Epiphanius used the heretics to explain the rise of all religious and cultural differences by making nations, cult, and culture manifestations of heresy. Polemical investigations by the heresiologists authorized and even empowered subsequent generations to study all manner of religious and national difference, no matter how repulsive and dangerous. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, Samuel Purchas, the traveler and Anglican cleric, published three massive volumes—known collectively as Purchas His Pilgrimage; or, Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in All Ages and Places Discovered from the Creation unto This Present—in which he reconciled the experience of his travels and the biblical worldview of Christian truth. In one particularly famous passage, he justified his decision to describe various irreligious people—whose "absence of religion was an absence of Christian Truth"—by appealing both to biblical precedent and to the writings of the heresiologists:

Now if any man thinke, that it were better these rotten bones of the passed, and stinking bodies of the present Superstitions were buried, then thus raked out of their graves besides that which has been said I answere, That I have sufficient example in the Scriptures, which were written for our learning to the ends of the World, and yet depaint unto us the ugly face of Idolatry in so many Countries of the Heathens, with the Apostasies, Sects, and Heresies of the Jewes, as in our first and second booke is shewed: and the Ancient Fathers also, Justin, Tertullian, Clemens, Irenaeus, Origen, and more fully, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Augustine have gone before us in their large Catalogues of Heresies and false Opinions.

Here, as both Masuzawa and Schott have emphasized, Purchas situates himself as an empowered collector precisely because he writes from the position of Christian truth. In that regard, both he and the heresiologists shared a theological ambition: to catalogue the world in the vernacular of Christian and biblical orthodoxy. The heresiologists, like the comparative theologians and missionaries of later centuries, described customs and habits through the contrast between

orthodox center and heretical periphery, even when the two were located in the same exact space. In short, they elaborated an ethnographic foundation for the comparative Christian worldview. Heresiologists took great pains to define the heretics in the most effective terms for their own polemical purposes. It was their prerogative to define true Christianity from a place of knowledge about false Christianity, a knowledge they sought to control through their very descriptions of it.

Because, as Daniel Boyarin has put it, the "heresiologists are the inspectors of religious customs," they operated as the collectors and, indeed, inventors of Christian diversity. The aim of the heresiologists was to create representations— self-serving and polemical representations—of what the heretics did and said. Heresiological ethnography puts into practice the famous maxim of Franz Boas that "to the ethnologist, the most trifling features of social life are important." It is about the microscopic, which sets in motion the production of bigger and broader systems of living. But microscopic analysis, whether through fieldwork or armchair aggregation, "does not occur spontaneously in an intentional vacuum or as the consequence of mere 'curiosity,' but is inherently a motivated and leveraged activity, a positive rhetoric loaded from the first with ideological and emotional, as well as practical, implications." Anthropologists go into the field and study peoples "because of what has been implanted in them." Like Pausanias, who guided his readers through the topography of Greece, and Diogenes Laertius, who guided his readers through the philosophical schools, heresiology offers its readers an intellectual map of the sectarian world. Heresiologists surveyed theologically and polemically the oikoumenë (the known or inhabited world) that was Christian, while also striving to make the oikoumenë Christian. They positioned themselves as courageous and necessary—if not hesitant—experts about the evolving contours of the Christian world. Their texts supplied reasons for seemingly inexplicable differences between Jews, Christians, heretics, and pagans. The science of heresy theorized not only the genesis of heresy but also its impact across all of human history.

Outlining The Project

This is a book about both ancient ethnography and ancient heresiology. In my reading, the two are inextricably linked. The ensuing chapters are organized thematically, rather than chronologically, precisely to demonstrate this point. This thematic structure better captures my interest in the stabilizing and destabilizing qualities—the discursive fits and starts, fissures and connections—of ethnographic knowledge and theories of classification within the context of late antique heresi-olog y. Instead of tracing a diachronic style or genre, which might erroneously suggest a single genealogy or systematic process of thought, I have configured this book to illustrate how ethnography functioned within heresiological literature as a tool for organizing or disorganizing sects. My aim is to understand how the production of Christian ethnography engulfed the heresiologists in a series of conceptual, structural, and literary paradoxes and to show how these textual problems shaped centuries of Christian discourse about religion, irreligion, and the writing of people. Readers will notice that certain scholars—Christopher Herbert, Jeremy Schott, David Chidester, Clifford Geertz, James Clifford, and Averil Cameron, among others—receive outsized attention over the course of this book. The reason is simple: I have found the works of these authors immeasurably useful in thinking about late antique heresiology specifically and the history of Christian ethnography more broadly. They have clarified, challenged, and refined my own ideas— and, to that end, I have chosen to be explicit about my influences. My references to Victorian ethnography and contemporary ethnographic theory are a conscious effort to think beyond the confines of late antiquity: to gesture at, however preliminarily and fragmentarily, the effects and implications of the production of Christianity, Christian theology, and the discourse of heresy for the history of writing peoples and their religions (and lack of religion). The point of these comparisons, moreover, is to highlight the enduring challenges of writing people through a discourse that presents itself as absolute and

comprehensive yet is, at the same time, unsettled and constrained. They serve to reinforce the paradoxical qualities of ethnographic investigation, which, I suggest, were further complicated by the Christian discourse of heresy.

Chapter 1 begins with contextualization. I survey the forms and functions of ethnography in antiquity to provide the analytical foundation for my discussion of Christian heresiology as a mode of ethnographic writing. Through analysis of the works of Herodotus, Pliny, Josephus, Tacitus, Diodorus Siculus, and others, I identify the methodological, theoretical, and descriptive contours of classical ethnography. Precisely because ethnography was not a formal genre, I advocate the idea of an ethnographic disposition. The ethnographic disposition encapsulates the process and effects of writing people and defining cultural systems. If we conceive of ethnography as a multifaceted process in which information about a particular people is collected and then theorized, the ethnographic disposition encompasses the suppositions behind these methodological and theoretical decisions. I pose two interrelated questions about the ethnographic method. What were the sources and methods with which ethnography was written? And how was the collected information applied? The answer reveals the bipartite scope of ethnographic writing about the ancient world: (1) microscopic ethnography, descriptions of the customs and habits of peoples, and (2) macroscopic ethnography, the use of grand paradigms such as genealogy, typology, and astrology to explain habits, customs, phenotypes, and behaviors. By identifying the vast array of microcosmic habits, practices, and beliefs across the world, and theorizing human diversity via such macroscopic analysis, ethnographers balanced efforts to describe peoples against the desire to routinize this process.

Chapter 2 describes the ethnographic microcosms of the heretics as recounted in the heresiologists' polemical writings. I analyze the heresiologists' description of heretical customs and habits, including dietary practices, dress, rituals, and textual traditions, in order to parse the relationship between heresy, theology, and praxis. In tracing how ethnography was written "Christianly" (how Christians developed their own ethnographic vernacular), I emphasize—through a close reading of Epiphanius's description of the ascetical Messalians—how the study of the heretics both upended and reinforced ethnographic tropes and aspirations. While the microscopic facets of Christian ethnography often parallel classical ethnographic descriptions, they reorient those descriptive tendencies with theological language. The heresiologists used the opinions and practices of the heretics to produce sectarian communities and to identify heretical dispositions. In that way, the heresiologists constructed a culture of heresy in order to dismantle it.

In chapter 3, I analyze how the heresiologists contested heretical models of human and Christian diversification. While disputes between the heresiologists and the heretics revolved around matters of ecclesiology, prophecy, scripture, and dogma, they also encompassed vehement disagreement over attempts to explain human behavior and customs in the context of sacred history. Insofar as the heresiologists were aware that the heretics had their own macroscopic paradigms of ethnography, they attacked these elaborate theories. With specific attention to Hippolytus of Rome and his Refutation of All the Heresies, I describe the attempt to delegitimize the heretics' astrological theories and cosmological-mythological narratives of human diversification.

Hippolytus's prolonged and intricate engagement with these heretical models— imported, he charges, from pagan traditions and myths—illustrates the ethnographic terms in which heresiological inquiry and polemic were framed. Hippolytus assailed these alternative models precisely because he aspired to lay down his own truly Christian explanation of human and heretical difference. It is the very appearance of such disputes that signals their implications for understanding the Christianization of ethnographic writing. The terms and trajectories of these disputes point toward heresiology's fundamentally ethnographic logic.

Chapter 4 explores the rhetorical and ethnographic strategies utilized by Epiphanius of Salamis and Theodoret of Cyrrhus to organize the diverse world of Christian heresy. Though contextually and stylistically distinct, Epiphanius's *Panarion* and Theodoret's *Compendium of Heretical Fables* evidence their authors' parallel efforts to delineate their roles as ethnographers of the Christian tradition. Epiphanius deploys a universal genealogy of knowledge to organize his ethnographic data, whereas Theodoret proposes a schematic typology—built around the actions of demonic forces—to array his knowledge of the heretics. Epiphanius further suggests in his Panarion that his model of heresy and heretical expansion explains the totality of human history as well as all cultural, national, and religious difference. For him, the rise of sectarianism reflects the structure of all human difference: to map heresy is to map the entirety of the known world. But in the context of various Greco-Roman precedents of macroscopic ethnography, Christian ethnography functioned not only to explain human origins and diversity but also to elaborate an underlying human unity. Theodoret and Epiphanius are quite careful to express the Christian longing for a reunited human race, a pre–Genesis 11 world of a singular symbolic Christian language. Heresiology articulated the nature and possibility of a fundamental human unity.

Chapter 5 analyzes heresiological theorizations of social discourse and exchange, the lifeblood of ethnography. Tertullian's Rule against the Heretics adamantly insists on the theological futility of investigating heresy. His exegesis of Matthew 7.7— "Search, and you shall find"—attests the soteriological fulfillment of Christ, whose presence precludes any further need for inquiry. Tertullian cautions against study and inquiry born of curiosity—where heresy serves as the epitome of curiosity— because they lead the mind astray. Heresiology thus becomes a meditation on the nature and limitations of Christian knowledge. The heresiologists' fear—that they will delve too deeply into the abyss of heresy—ran up against their self-described effort to serve the greater Christian world as its doctrinal cartographers and polemical ethnographers. The danger of dialoguing with heretics signaled the paradoxical nature of Christian ethnographic inquiry: the danger that the necessity of pastoral care and education—exposing heresy—would contaminate and hereticize the inquirer. To counteract the pollution of the heretics, the heresiologists deployed a rhetoric of anti-ethnographic ethnography. They expressed their disdain for engaging with and collecting knowledge about the heretics just as they heralded their triumph over these blasphemous peoples.

I argue in chapters 6 and 7, about Epiphanius and Augustine, respectively, that the Christianization of ethnography and ethnographic paradigms accentuates the dangers of heresiological inquiry and the limits of so-called heresiological authority. As they try to order and number the totality of the heretical world, Epiphanius and Augustine reflect on the impossibility of their task. They cogitate about their inability to understand foreign customs, to translate peoples into texts, to manage, in essence, an impossibly large and ever-expanding repository of knowledge, a repository that they themselves helped to create. The heresiologists are all too aware that the world, despite the rise of Christianity, is beyond systematization and plenary understanding. Heresiology exposes the aporetic core of ethnographic writing; it is a task at once beyond the scope of the written word and of the human mind. In chapter 6, I discuss the ethnographic and epistemological limitations of Epiphanius's *Panarion*. Surveying and organizing the heretical world forces the heresiologists, like various classical ethnographers before them, to reflect upon their ability to comprehend the totality of Christian world around them. Epiphanius further acknowledged that heresy knew no geographical or territorial boundaries: it was a counterworld residing in his orthodox world. I demonstrate that Epiphanius not only admits this loss of control but also in a sense embraces it. There is no attempt to hide the fissures within his knowledge; they reflect his humanity and humility. Although Epiphanius persistently devised rhetorical and structural schemes to combat the ever-changing contours of the heretical world, he was consciously aware of his shortcomings, fears, and failures.

In chapter 7, I turn to Augustine's understudied *De haeresibus* to consider how he confronts not only the textual possibilities and limitations of epistemological representation but also the theoretical capacity to comprehend his heretical environs. Through intertextual reading, tireless research, and personal experience, Augustine edited the work of his antecedents and contemporaries into a slender heresiological handbook. By explicitly adding and subtracting heretics, Augustine presented his text as a polemical palimpsest of ethnographic knowledge. But although Augustine insisted on his expansive knowledge of the heretics, he readily admitted to falling short. His text is totalizing in aspiration, perhaps, but not in practice or even in theory. Instead it attests a stark conversation about the capacity of texts to represent and circumscribe ethnographic phenomena. What is especially revealing about Augustine and his text is the precise manner in which he framed his limitations not simply as a collector of abstract knowledge but as a living, practicing, flesh-and-blood heresiologist. Augustine was self-consciously aware of his inability to move from observer to observed, from heresiologist to heretic. For Augustine, the limitations of heresiology were insurmountable because they were fundamentally ethnographic. <>

Lost Tribes Found: Israelite Indians and Religious Nationalism in Early America by Matthew W. Dougherty (University of Oklahoma Press)

The belief that Native Americans might belong to the fabled 'lost tribes of Israel' – Israelites driven from their homeland around 740 BCE – took hold among Anglo-Americans and Indigenous peoples in the United States during its first half century. In **Lost Tribes Found**, Matthew W. Dougherty explores what this idea can tell readers about religious nationalism in early America. Dougherty is Assistant Professor, Teaching Stream, in the history of Christianity at Emmanuel College of Victoria University in the University of Toronto.

Some white Protestants, Mormons, American Jews, and Indigenous people constructed nationalist narratives around the then-popular idea of 'Israelite Indians.' Although these were minority viewpoints, they reveal that the story of religion and nationalism in the early United States was more complicated and wide-ranging than studies of American 'chosen-ness' or 'manifest destiny' suggest. Telling stories about Israelite Indians, Dougherty argues, allowed members of specific communities to understand the expanding United States, to envision its transformation, and to propose competing forms of sovereignty. In these stories both settler and Indigenous intellectuals found biblical explanations for the American empire and its stark racial hierarchy.

Lost Tribes Found opens and closes with analyses of Israelite Indian stories in the context of national politics in the early United States. The first chapter analyzes how these stories emerged in and helped shape a national evangelical culture that supported missions to Indigenous peoples. The final chapter, similarly, discusses religious nationalism on a country-wide scale to explain the decline in use of Israelite Indian stories after 1830. In the intervening chapters, Dougherty explores more local and specific conversations that invoked Israelite Indian stories.

Chapter 1 discusses how the stories Levi introduced to Anglophone America went through a renaissance in the early United States. Working largely from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British sources, early American evangelicals from the 1790s through the 1820s transformed these stories and used them to support the idea that the United States must missionize Indigenous peoples in order to expand across the continent without losing the favor of God. With these stories, they sought to evoke sympathy for Indigenous people and anxiety lest God punish the nation for their persecution of his chosen people. At the same time, their versions of Israelite Indian stories depicted

Indigenous people as inferiors to be pitied and suggested that, once Indigenous peoples converted to Christianity, they would joyfully leave the continent in White hands and 'return' to Palestine.

Early Mormons extended and elaborated these ideas. As Dougherty shows in chapter 2 of **LOST TRIBES FOUND**, between 1830 and 1847, Mormons understood themselves to be living in an age of millennial transformation, when God's purposes for the 'Lamanites,' or Israelite Indians, would be revealed. By encountering Lamanites in worship and recounting Lamanite histories, early Mormons cultivated the love for their new religion and wonder at living in an age of revelations that knit them together as a community. By discussing prophecies about an army of Israelite Indians or 'Lamanites' that would soon destroy the United States to make room for God's kingdom of Zion, they transferred their anger at the United States onto Lamanites and schooled themselves to patience. Because of this complex of feelings, the nationalism that bound Mormons together immediately before and after the death of Joseph Smith reached for both imagined Lamanites and actual Indigenous allies to help spark the creation of Zion.

Chapter 3 of **LOST TRIBES FOUND** analyzes two intellectuals who used Israelite Indian narratives to engage with the ascendant White supremacy and populist political rhetoric of the 1830s. One, the prominent Jewish newspaper editor Mordecai Noah, used these narratives to strengthen American Jews' claims to American citizenship and western territory. The other, the Pequot activist and preacher William Apess, used them to argue for the humanity of Indigenous people and to envision an 'Israel' of independent Indigenous Christians. For both men, these narratives allowed them to enlist the sympathy of evangelical reformers on behalf of their communities. They also attempted to use them, however, to evoke the pride and hope that might nurture new Jewish or Indigenous nationalisms.

The focus in chapter 4 is on a small group of Christian Cherokees who drew on missionary stories of Israelite Indians to identify their ancestors with the people described in the Bible. Their narratives argued that the Christian God had given the Cherokees their land, in part because they wanted to enlist missionary sympathies against the state and federal governments then pressuring the Cherokee Nation to give up its territory. Although the Cherokees who told these stories had reason to hope that they would help start a broader reform in their society, the genocidal Trail of Tears and the disarray that followed prevented their narratives from being published and distributed in the new Cherokee Nation.

Finally, chapter 5 of **LOST TRIBES FOUND** returns to a national focus to analyze the eclipse of Israelite Indian stories in American life. Dougherty tracks the rise of American secularism, a then-new way of relating religion to the state, and its effects on the articulation of religious nationalisms, including the much-discussed concept of 'manifest destiny.' In the process, Dougherty shows how new versions of Israelite Indian stories arose in the 1830s and 1840s that muted their emotional appeals to blend more seamlessly with the practices of secularism. At the same time, a new literature arose that emphasized both the danger and the inevitability of frontier settlers' thirst for violence. Only the state and Christianity working in concord, they implied, could restrain this violence. By the beginning of the Civil War, these new ways of relating feelings about religion and about the American state had supplanted older Israelite Indian narratives.

> *Matthew W. Dougherty calls forth a range of voices and `Israelite Indian' stories and uses them to dethrone historians' previous assumptions about religious nationalism and challenge an overemphasis on `manifest destiny.' Compelling, well written, and well argued.* – Tisa Wenger, author of *Religious Freedom: The Contested History of an American Ideal*

LOST TRIBES FOUND goes beyond the legal and political structure of the nineteenth-century U.S. empire. In showing how the trope of the Israelite Indian appealed to the emotions that bound

together both nations and religious groups, the book adds a new dimension and complexity to our understanding of the history and underlying narratives of early America. <>

Body and Spirit in the Middle Ages: Literature, Philosophy, Medicine edited by: Gaia Gubbini [Funded by European Research Council (ERC) and Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, De Gruyter, 9783110615913] Open Access

A crucial question throughout the Middle Ages, the relationship between body and spirit cannot be understood without an interdisciplinary approach – combining literature, philosophy and medicine. Gathering contributions by leading international scholars from these disciplines, the collected volume explores themes such as lovesickness, the five senses, the role of memory and passions, in order to shed new light on the complex nature of the medieval Self.

CONTENTS

Excerpt: 'Body and spirit in the Middle Ages': why wonder about this subject today?

For two reasons, I would say. Two (apparently) antithetical reasons – or, rather, complementary ones.

The first reason arises from a contemporary perspective: it is a theme deeply rooted in the condition of being human, and today – maybe more than ever – the importance of the 'psychosomatic' dimension seems evident to medicine, to psychoanalysis and, more broadly, to contemporary culture. The Middle Ages, in their complexity and richness, can thus provide us (paradoxically enough) with 'new' perspectives – even on some of the questions at the centre of

contemporary debates. Moreover, the problem being, as mentioned, deeply rooted in the human condition, it is a theme that is at the very heart of studia humanitatis and that, especially in the present-day context of continuous, short-sighted questioning of the legitimacy and usefulness of the study of the humanities, can constitute by itself a good answer: in a nutshell, what are the studia humanitatis if not a better understanding of the historical 'strata' and the cultural dynamics that have characterised humankind and its representation of itself and of its world over the course of time? The 'body and spirit' question is a crucial element of such a puzzle.

Which brings us to the second reason, which could be characterised as 'nostalgic': the Middle Ages and their world – where the encounter/clash between body and spirit played a central role – are forever lost, despite all our efforts. Each passage from one text to another, each historical upheaval, brings changes over the centuries, which can make researchers aware of the distance that separates them from the object of analysis. Trying to patiently 'reconstruct' – although always in a highly hypothetical way – the tesserae of the mosaic can give us a much more well-defined picture. And every tessera counts.

'Body and spirit in the Middle Ages: literature, philosophy, medicine': why is this complex best explored with an interdisciplinary approach? The reason for this is that the theme itself renders it necessary, due to the richness of perspectives that we find in medieval texts and works of art on this topic, from the body as a prison of the soul, according to some Church Fathers, to the texts that stage, in Latin and in the vernacular languages, debates between the body and the soul. From the senses designed as 'windows of vices' – in the tradition of Saint Jerome and others – to the glorification of the five senses in the liturgy and in the doctrine of the spiritual senses. From the close connection between the body, the senses, the faculty of imagination, the role of memory and of emotions, theorised by medieval philosophy and medicine, to the central role of the imagined and fantasised feminine body in the courtly lyric poetry of medieval Europe. From the body of Christ and of the saints affected by the 'folly for Christ' (stultitia Christi), to the psychosomatic sufferings of profane lovesickness, melancholy and folly that affect the characters of medieval romance. There are, therefore, a multitude of facets that cannot easily be separated from one another without the risk of losing the 'depth' of perspective.

At the base of this volume lies the conviction – developed in several years of investigations on medieval Romance literatures – that it is fundamental for the future of medieval studies to relate the literary masterpieces examined with the episteme, that is, the medical texts and also the philosophical texts that convey and summarise the knowledge of the time. It is, of course, rather difficult to identify direct sources, since it is almost impossible to know with certainty if an author has or has not read a given treatise or summa. But these investigations allow us to reconstruct, through well-founded hypotheses, the 'imagery' behind literary metaphors: an imagery that is, very probably, fed not only by literary references, but by the entire knowledge of the time – since medieval cultural discourses had much more permeable borders compared to the boundaries of disciplines nowadays, and they were in many cases not produced by specialists in the modern sense of the term, but, rather, by people one may characterise as cross-skilled intellectuals. A strict disciplinary compartmentalisation in the study of the Middle Ages would, therefore, distance us even more from understanding the cultural discourse of that time.

Grasping the complex and stratified nature of medieval cultural discourse is not an easy task, but the path for such an approach has been, in part, already shown by some crucial works that medieval studies have produced so far. This volume contains the papers presented during an interdisciplinary and international conference that took place at Freie Universität Berlin in November 2014: truly interdisciplinary, thanks to the participation of major specialists of medieval literature, medicine, and

philosophy; and truly international, as the speakers came from four major traditions of medieval studies – from Germany, the United States, France and Italy.

A few words on the occasion of the conference are called for. It was planned in the context of my fellowship, generously financed by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation at Freie Universität Berlin, for my project (closely connected to the theme of the conference) 'Breaths, Sighs and Spirits in Medieval Romance Literature'. I would like to express my profound gratitude to the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation for the generosity of their support, for their cultural involvement in the promotion of humanities and their meritocratic approach toward international scholars. I would like here to thank Joachim Küpper, who was my host at the Freie Universität: when I met him, I was 'exiled' from my country, I was completely new to the German university system and he has always stimulated and supported me with excellent scholarly conversations and extremely insightful advice.

The following paragraphs will give a brief overview of the content of the different contributions – following not the order of their presence in this book, but some fundamental themes that connect the different essays of the volume.

The first article of the book is a contribution by Danielle Jacquart (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris), entitled La notion philosophico-médicale de spiritus dans l'Avicenne latin. This essay analyses the meaning, the role and the nuances that the term and the concept of spiritus have in the different Latin 'translations' of the works of Avicenna. In fact, Avicenna repeatedly refers to 'spirit' – but, as the essay highlights, without clearly stating its origin and nature. In order to try to better understand this concept in Avicenna's thought, the essay follows the different instances of this term in different works, and in particular in the following texts: De anima, Canon, De viribus cordis and De animalibus. The spiritus in the works of Avicenna is quite omnipresent, as highlighted by the author of the essay, but its role is 'multifaceted' so to speak – precisely because this subtle substance is not immaterial but, at the same time, it is distinguished from the merely 'bodily' elements. Spiritus is, in fact, the special link between body and spirit, and it is also connected, in Avicenna, with celestial bodies and with the male semen. The result of the analysis shows the complexity and variety of ideas that the Middle Ages linked to the concept of spiritus: in particular, the essay shows that the term acquires different but complementary meanings in different works of Avicenna, according to the different perspectives adopted by the author when writing medical or more philosophically oriented texts.

The stratified richness of the conceptual 'hub' constituted by spiritus is present and analysed also in the contribution Corps et esprit: les olhs espiritaus de Bernard de Ventadour et la maladie de Tristan by the editor of this volume (Gaia Gubbini, Ludwig Maximilians-Universität München). This essay is divided into two sections – closely linked to one another precisely by the role played by the stratified and multiple medieval concept of 'spirit', and by its complex relationship with the body. The first part is dedicated to the analysis of the expression in langue d'oc olhs espiritaus contained in a very important song of the troubadour Bernart de Ventadorn, Chantars no pot gaire valer. In this first section of the article, the expression 'eyes full of spirit' is connected to both Patristic and medical texts. The second section is devoted to the Anglo-Norman texts in verses on Tristan and Iseut: the Tristan et Yseut of Béroul, the one of Thomas d'Angleterre, and two different (but very similar) anonymous texts known as the Folies Tristan (the Folie de Berne and the Folie d'Oxford). The relationship between fictitious and real maladies of the character of Tristan is investigated, connecting the 'symptoms' to the medical discourse of the time. In both of its sections, this essay shows how the entangled relationship between body and spirit plays a key role in some of the literary masterpieces of medieval France and Anglo-Norman England, and that the dominant note of such an interconnection seems to be the 'psychosomatic' dimension.

A crucial element of this connection between body and spirit is to be found in the five senses, analysed in the essay Les cinq sens, le corps et l'esprit by Éric Palazzo (Université de Poitiers-CESCM, IUF). The symbolic meaning of the five senses in the authors of late Antiquity and of the Middle Ages is rooted in the 'unity' of body and spirit. This unity, the essay explains, is, in turn, at the basis of the twofold medieval doctrine of the bodily and spiritual senses. The essay continues and explains the development of this doctrine – and its influence on the liturgy – through the centuries, highlighting the milestones of this history. After a period dominated by the demonisation of the sinful dimension of the bodily five senses – strongly present, for example, in Saint Jerome – a fundamental turning point on this theme is to be found in Saint Augustine's thought, which deepened the doctrine of the spiritual senses as well as shaped and developed the concepts of inner sense and of synaesthesia. The further development of the conceptualisation of the five senses shows, for example in the case of Saint Bernard, how the five senses play the role of 'mediator' between God and humankind. Thus, the essay sheds light on the twofold role played by the five senses in the history of Christian thinking, namely that humankind can either reach God thanks to the help of the spiritual senses, or definitively lose itself in the sinful and fleeting pleasures of the five bodily senses.

Skin, senses and emotions: these themes – intimately connected to the 'body and spirit' conceptual knot investigated in this volume – are addressed in the contribution Skin, the inner senses, and the readers' inner life in the Aviarium of Hugh of Fouilloy and related texts of Sarah Kay (New York University). In this essay, the author argues that Hugh of Fouilloy's Aviarium – and the literary bestiary tradition related to this text – builds a close connection between the bodily substance of the manuscript (the skin) and the emotional dimension of the spiritual self of the reader. Hugh uses sensorial imagery with high awareness – as the author demonstrates – emphasising the relationship between external and inner senses, in order to overcome the clear-cut separation 'flesh vs. spirit' that was at the basis of earlier bestiary production. The central role of imagination and of the senses is highlighted in the prologue of the Aviarium. The essay argues that the Aviarium exploits the similarity between the hide used for the manuscript and the skin of the human being in order to convey a 'mothering' and parental theme and, through all this process, the 'awakening' of the imagination and of the inner life of the reader. Seeing and touching the parchment changes the practice of reading entirely, which becomes for the medieval reader a 'second skin', as the essay defines it. Through such an experience, the reader can shift from visual image to the touch of the parchment and, via the external senses, advance to the internal senses and to the inner self.

At the centre of the essay The Medical, the Philosophical, and the Theological Discourses on the Senses: Congruences and Divergences by Joachim Küpper (Freie Universität Berlin) stand the different conceptions about human perception at play in the Middle Ages. The paper argues that during the medieval period different discourses divulge different ideas about the senses. In particular, the medical, philosophical, and theological discourses diverge with regard to a specific point – the post-sensory faculties of the mind that govern the inner senses. If the different faculties (virtutes) are common to human beings and beasts, what is the difference between them? Where the medical discourse conceives such a difference as a gradual and not a fundamental one, philosophy and theology cannot agree on this point – since the question involves a fundamental issue: free will and moral responsibility. The essay shows that such divergent anthropologies on the human perception co-existed within medieval discourse, and even in the textual production of specific individuals, depending on the field to which their various texts pertain. As a proof of this medieval 'pluralism' an emblematic passage from Petrus Hispanus' Quaestiones de animalibus is analysed, where the author – a professor of medicine, later elected pope with the name of John XXI – describes sexual intercourse and the female intimate parts following two different functions, pleasure and procreation. These two functions are in this passage regarded as independent from one another and, surprisingly enough for a Christian point of view, they are not 'hierarchised'. The essay shows how

Petrus Hispanus as a medical author admits certain concepts to his scientific writings that as a theologian and as a pope he would (later) condemn.

The senses, their presence, their relationship to reason and the moral discourse of Petrarch's Canzoniere are at the centre of the essay Petrarch and the Senses. Petrarch's Anthropology of Love and the Scholastic Transformation of Christian Ethics of Andreas Kablitz (Universität zu Köln). Through a close reading of Sonnet No. 6, Sì travïato è 'l folle mi' desio, Kablitz detects quotations and reuses of Thomas Aquinas' texts – a device that recurs in other poems by the author. The essay highlights how, though apparently the reuse of passages of Scholastic origin in the context of love poetry seems to operate an 'inversion' of Thomistic moral discourse, in fact Petrarch mirrors in his poetry the contradictions and the inconsistencies already existent in Scholastic ethics. In particular, at centre stage is the complicated, tortured relationship between reason and the senses. After original sin, the essay shows, and therefore after the loss of the iustitia originalis – a gift from God to humankind, to allow humans to control desire and the sensual drives and to direct themselves instead towards God – reason cannot be conceived as completely independent from sensorial and sensual involvements. As the effect of original sin, reason is inevitably bound to the senses: therefore, marginalised, reason cannot guarantee a safeguard for humankind against sin. The result of the battle among reason, senses and will thus remain uncertain – and Petrarch has imbued his texts with this suspended contradiction.

The essay Language, Soul, & Body (Parts) by Stephen G. Nichols (Johns Hopkins University) is focused on the relationship between the sexually-gendered body and the complex dynamics of mind, soul and body. The author highlights the paradoxical pattern of the coexistence of two contradictory elements: on the one hand, the rich series of names devoted to the erogenous zones and, on the other, the cultural norm and prohibition according to which the parts of shame should have no name. The essay analyses the obsession that Antiquity and the Middle Ages had with these human organs, an obsession that, far from being dispelled by the oft-repeated prohibition of naming the sexually-gendered body, is rooted in the highly problematic relationship present in every human being between mens (mind), ratio (reason), anima (soul) and animus (will) – as a passage of Isidore examined in the essay clearly states. Such a polarised and coexistent contradiction is strongly present also in Troubadour poetry, as the essay shows: in this literary tradition we find a 'spiritualised' version of the fin'amors, but also the exuberant exaltation of sexuality – accompanied by a very physical description of male intimate parts. The 'boomerang effect' – as the author defines it – of the haunting presence of what should be kept silent and unnamed is particularly strong in a key figure of Western philosophy, Peter Abelard, and, especially, in the dense passage of the Historia calamitatum – a fundamental text to understand medieval France – where he narrates his castration full of anguish.

The exaltation of bodily and, in particular, sensual pleasures is a dominant note in the texts analysed in the essay Bodies without Minds, Minds without Bodies. Tales of the Night in the Fabliaux and Boccaccio by R. Howard Bloch (Yale University). The contribution analyses a special sub-genre present in ancient French fabliaux and in the Decameron of Boccaccio, 'the tale of a single night', that is to say tales that develop within the time frames from dusk to dawn. These texts convey a special relationship with time, sexuality and love. If, in the fabliaux analysed, the bodily pleasures are not connected to previous sentimental connections between the characters and are therefore the simple expression of sexual drives, in one of Boccaccio's tales examined, novella IX, 6, the sexual intercourse of Pinuccio and Niccolosa is almost 'prepared' in the diegesis by a mutual, shared desire. In fact the two characters of Pinuccio and Niccolosa, as the essay explains, fall in love with each other long before the night of love – their romance, in contrast to the cases of sexual intercourse present in the fabliaux, preexists their first night and it lasts after it: they will continue their

relationship with many nights after the first one. Therefore, compared to the fabliaux, in Boccaccio's novella there appears a different concept of time and love, according to which the body and its sensual pleasures involve mind, will and desire – where sex meets romance, as it were.

The body and spirit meet and intertwine in the 'psychosomatic' medieval malady par excellence: the malady of love, which is at the centre of the essay Amour, imagination et poésie dans l'œuvre médicale de Gentile da Foligno of Aurélien Robert (CNRS, Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance). This contribution focuses on the commentary of the 14th-century Italian physician Gentile da Foligno on the Canon of Avicenna, and in particular on the section devoted to the analysis of love's passion. The questions that Gentile da Foligno places at the centre of his commentary – on the origin of the passion of love, on the influence of the imagination on the body, on the power of words in the physical expression of passion – are conceived by the physician as an 'organic' system: such a perspective, tackling all these questions simultaneously constitutes a novelty in the panorama of the treatises of the time. Medieval physicians generally stressed the strong role of imagination in the development of amorous passion: however, they also underlined bodily dysfunctions as preconditions linked to the origin of such a malady. The essay highlights that, compared to this tradition, Gentile da Foligno instead accentuates the importance of dysfunctions of the mind as the key element for love malady to develop. Moreover, in Gentile da Foligno's commentary we find a crucial element for the relationship between literature and medicine in 14th-century Italy: an enhancement of the central function of poetry and of its connection with the malady of love. The essay demonstrates how, in Gentile da Foligno's analysis of love malady, the description of the characteristics of the love-sick come very close to those of the (love-)poet.

The essay Melancholy and Creativity in Petrarch by Massimo Ciavolella (University of California Los Angeles) is dedicated to the close relationship between the intellectual dimension of creativity and the key humoral imbalance and (consequent) malady of melancholy in the Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta and in the Secretum of Petrarch. The author examines the psycho-physiological dynamics that influence the relationship between melancholy and poetic creativity in Petrarch. In these dynamics the role played by imagination and the function of phantasmata in engendering melancholy is of crucial importance: in fact, the essay explains, the heat caused by desire and by the multiplications of spirits 'alters' the receptacle of the brain containing the power of estimation. Such an overheating of this specific receptacle is at the origin of the power and the endurance of the images – the phantasmata, causing, amongst other symptoms, dryness of the brain and the consequent increase of the melancholic humour. The alteration of the power of estimation creates the crucial problem that tra verses the works of Petrarch as a fil rouge: the 'confusion' and conflation of physi cal desire and the moral good, as the essay highlights. In Petrarch the invincible power of the phantasmata finds its perfect representation in the obsessive presence of Laura's image – the phantasm that overwhelms the faculty of estimation of the lyric 'I' and takes the place of the good. An illusory object of desire, Laura becomes in fact a fictio fixed in the imagination, engendering the melancholic passion that permeates the Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta and that is acknowleged as the obstacle to salvation in the Secretum.

At the centre of the essay Animae sequuntur corpora. Le philosophe, les astres et la physiognomonie au XIIIe siècle by Irene Caiazzo (CNRS, PSL, Laboratoire d'Études sur les Monothéismes) is the bodily and moral portrait of the intellectual contained in 13th-century texts on physiognomy. Physiognomy, 'reborn' in the West in the 12th century, fully develops in the 13th century and tries to understand the disposition of a person based on their appearance; it establishes, during the Middle Ages, a close connection between medicine, psychology, philosophy and astrology. The essay analyses in particular one of the first commentaries to the pseudo-Aristotelian Physiognomy, the commentary of William of Aragon. One of the main concerns of this commentary

is to establish what kind of relationship exists between body and soul: the commentary highlights the interdependence of body and soul – a basic concept for the science of physiognomy – but, at the same time, it stresses the supremacy of the soul over the body. William of Aragon's text argues that, through the study of physiognomy, it is possible to detect a human being's natural attitude towards science: the commentary emphasises that it is only the attitude towards science that is possible to recognise – and not an intellectual 'in act'. The essay shows that the commentary of William of Aragon founds the 'scientific' basis of physiognomy in astrology through the implementation of a cosmology. This strong role of astrology in the physical and intellectual formation of human beings – and therefore in the analysis of physiognomy – is a medieval innovation.

The relationships between body and spiritual substances and between celestial and terrestrial bodies are fundamental in order to understand the dynamics of the notion of 'virtual contact': this is the topic at the core of the essay Le « contact virtuel » entre un esprit et un corps et l'action à distance of Nicolas WeillParot (École Pratique des Hautes Études, EPHE PSL). The notion of contactus virtualis has a double dimension: the action of a spirit on a body and the action of a body on a spiritual substance. The essay stresses the importance of Thomas Aquinas' distinction – present in his Commentary of Sentences (I, d. 37, q.3, art. 1, co.) – of two sorts of touch, the proper one, were the extremities touch each other, and the 'metaphorical' touch, that takes place only with an action at a distance (and this is specific to angels). But how could such a concept of the action of a spiritual entity on a body be conceived and formulated in the context of an Aristotelian philosophy which implied a 'contact' between the agent and the patient? As the contribution shows, different thinkers, in different contexts and dealing with different subjects, gave different answers to this question. Thomas Aquinas uses this concept of contactus virtualis several times in order to explain the action of a spiritual substance – such as a demon, an angel or God – on a body. But the contribution also stresses that several 13th-century authors conceive 'action at a distance' the other way round: that is to say, the action that a body can exert on a spiritual substance, and, in particular, on one of the soul's faculties. The contribution highlights, moreover, that a special form of contactus virtualis is to be detected in the contact between celestial bodies and, distant from them, terrestrial ones.

The simultaneous presence of the bodily dimension and of the spiritual one is a key element of religious literature and mysticism, as shown in this volume by two essays. The first essay dealing with religious production is the one by Franco Suitner (Università di Roma Tre), entitled La poésie mystique: Iacopone da Todi et les contradictions de l'âme. The idea of the body present in the poetry of Iacopone da Todi – the most important Franciscan poet of medieval Italian literature – is complex and stratified. As the contribution highlights, Saint Francis, alter Christus, has modelled his religious trajectory on that of Christ. Franciscan mysticism is therefore Christocentric, as the body of Christ – simultaneously 'vessel' of all worldly pains and triumphantly resurrected – plays a crucial role in it. In the poetry of Iacopone da Todi there is a double evaluation of the bodily dimension: in fact on one hand, the body is an obstacle for the elevation of the soul, but on the other it is important to keep it in good health, the body being the 'medium' of our penitence before God. The spiritual dimension – the other 'pole' of the complex couple at the basis of the present book – is also perceptible in a contradictory, yet intense way in the religious production of Iacopone da Todi, and seems to mirror the contradictions of the body just evoked. In fact, where some texts refer to the soul in a 'plain' way, according to which the spiritual dimension represents simply the 'good' side of humankind, in some other laude we find more ambiguous passages that insist on the soul's freedom and seem – as the contribution highlights – to echo certain theories linked to the coeval Heresy of the Free Spirit.

The last contribution that ends the volume, the essay Retorica delle passioni. La preghiera tra anima e corpo of Carla Casagrande (Università degli studi di Pavia) is dedicated to the entanglement of

body and spirit and to its role in the prayer of the mystic author Jean Gerson. The article insists on a crucial element, intimately connected to the 'body and spirit' enquiry at the basis of this volume: the importance of emotions in the Middle Ages. Jean Gerson in fact, at the end of Middle Ages, builds in his works what the author of the essay defines as a 'rhetoric of the affective communication with God' – therefore: a communication entirely grounded on emotions. Starting and ending with Jean Gerson, the essay analyses the idea, broadly shared during the Middle Ages, that emotions play a fundamental role in prayer – investigating, moreover, which kinds of emotions are present, and in which order, in prayer, according to authors like Augustine, Hugh of Saint Victor, William of Auvergne and, of course, Jean Gerson. The investigation on the emotions in prayer also involves the participation of the body in this process. However, as the essay highlights, the presence of the body is not to be detected in the emotions in prayer themselves, which, directed to God, have to be purified and detached from earthly involvements. The body is present in the prayer through the voice, the gesture: it helps the person praying to move himself – and, therefore, to make the prayer more intense, and deeper.

As I have tried to sketch out here, the 'body and spirit' topic has been tackled in this volume with a richness and a broadness of perspectives that would not have been possible without an interdisciplinary approach – combining literature, philosophy and medicine. The present book, dealing with a crucial question such as this, of prime importance throughout the Middle Ages, moreover explores further fundamental themes intimately related to the 'body and spirit' question – such as lovesickness, the five senses, the role of memory, passions and emotions – so as to shed new light on the complex nature of the medieval Self. <>

<>

<>